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Emerging Security Paradigm in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region A Blue Ocean of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation

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Emerging Security Paradigm in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region:

A Blue Ocean of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation

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For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

December 2015

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby confirm that the thesis submitted is totally my own work and that any part of it which are copied from other sources are referenced therein in the prescribed manner according to the rules and regulations of King's College London.

Tharishini Krishnan

December 2015

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the emergence of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation (MIMSC) in response to traditional threats and non-traditional security threats at the Eastern Indian Ocean Region (EIOR).

This thesis argues that although both Malaysia and India have identified the maritime significance of the EIOR to them, the common threat faced by them in that region, and have recognised the need for cooperation in maritime security, it appears at present that MIMSC in EIOR projects a lack of robustness in its engagement. This is despite both an appreciation of the relations between the two countries, and a substantial ability to address the challenges of the EIOR. The positive relations that are challenged by these maritime threats show that there is a pressing need for both countries to draw up effective maritime policies. But it is as yet unclear why these countries have failed to do so. The paucity of scientific investigation into the question of why the two states have failed to draw up an effective maritime policy cooperation despite their potential to do so, and the lack of availability of substantive arguments, turn this question into a significant field of academic inquiry.

In order to address this issue, this thesis will ask three sub-questions, relating to: a) the drivers of MIMSC in EIOR, b) the emerging areas of maritime cooperation in mitigating traditional and non-traditional threats in EIOR, and c) the critical factors that would contribute towards a successful MIMSC in EIOR. It will cover the dynamics of MIMSC from the post-Cold War era in EIOR, and draw more substantial answers to how MIMSC in post-Cold War period is a 'missed opportunity' but projects a 'promising opportunity' to address issues of maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Qualitative research design is employed in this research inquiry. This research has used two primary data collection method: a) in-depth personal interviews and b) focus group interviews. Informants were selected through purposeful sampling, focusing on high-ranked retired and serving officials from the Navy, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, maritime security agencies, and think tanks. This research used the NVIVO 10 software program to conduct a Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) to analyse data obtained through interviews.

Several emerging areas of maritime collaboration are shaping MIMSC in the EIOR such as: a) partnership in search and rescue operation, b) humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, b) increasing interoperability of constabulary role, c) partnership in defence industry, and d) partnership in maritime resources and competence. These areas of maritime collaboration are highly dependent on major critical success factors such as: a) shaping both formal and informal bilateral and multilateral maritime cooperation, b) overcoming bureaucracy and statutory bottlenecks, c) shared cost-benefit and d) change in maritime strategic thinking.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF MAPS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF DIAGRAMS	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The Problem Statement	7
1.3 Significance of the Study	10
1.4 Organisation of the Thesis	11
 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW & METHODOLOGY	
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 Part One: Definitions of Key Terms	12
2.22 Drivers of Change	14
2.23 Emerging Area of Cooperation	15
2.24 Critical Success Factors	15
2.3 Buzan’s Regional Complex Theory: Securitising the Threats in Eastern Indian Ocean Region for Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation	16
2.4 Look East Policy and Act East Policy: An Overview	20
2.41 India’s Look East Policy and Act East Policy	21
2.42 India-Southeast Asia Maritime Security Cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region	29
2.43 Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation In the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	35
2.5 Part Two: Methodology	39
2.6 Research Design	39
2.7 Strategy of Inquiry	39
2.8 Data Collection Methods	40
2.81 In-depth Personal Interviews	41
2.82 Focus Group Interviews	41
2.83 In depth Personal Interview and Focus Group Protocols/ Procedures	42
2.84 Data Management and Analysis	43
2.85 Content Analysis	44

CHAPTER 3: MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME NEXUS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction	46
3.2 India to Meet Malaya	46
3.3 India in the Early Malay World	53
3.4 The Imperial Eras of the European Powers	58
3.41 The Arrival of the Portuguese	59
3.42 Enter the Dutch	61
3.43 British Entry	66
3.5 Malaysia-India Maritime Relations: The Cold War Period (1945-1990)	69
3.51 Self-Sufficiency Maritime Strategy (1947-1961)	70
3.52 Blue Water Maritime Strategy (1962-1990)	72
3.6 Malaysia-India Maritime Relations under the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)	75
3.61 Indian Ocean Region as Zone of Peace	84

CHAPTER 4: THE DRIVERS OF MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION DURING THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

4.1 Introduction	91
4.2 Geographical Proximity	92
4.3 The Geopolitical Scenario in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	94
4.4 China's Maritime Ambitions	96
4.5 Economic Significance	102
4.6 Maritime Significance	108
4.7 Conclusion	115

CHAPTER 5: MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION AND MITIGATION OF TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

5.1 Introduction	117
5.2 Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping the Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	117
5.21 Safety and Security of Sea Lines of Communication for Economic Prosperity	118
5.22 The Safety and Security of Sea Lane of Communication from State Practice over Regional Autonomy	120

5.3 Emerging Areas of Maritime Collaboration of the Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	128
5.4 Conclusion	139

CHAPTER 6: MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION AND MITIGATION OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREAT IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

6.1 Introduction	140
6.2 Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	140
6.21 Piracy	141
6.22 Terrorism at Sea	148
6.23 Other Illicit Activities	151
6.24 Natural Disasters	155
6.3 Emerging Areas of Maritime Collaboration of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	159
6.4 Conclusion	164

CHAPTER 7: FACTORS CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

7.1 Introduction	166
7.2 Bilateral and Multilateral Commitment	167
7.3 Informal Network of Bilateral and Multilateral Maritime Cooperation	173
7.4 Overcoming Bureaucracy and Statutory Bottlenecks	177
7.5 Shared Cost-Benefit	179
7.6 Change in Maritime Strategic Thinking	181
7.7 Conclusion	184

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

THE SHAPING OF MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION	185
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BIBLIOGRAPHY	196
APPENDICES	208

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Map of Southeast and South Asia Region in the Indian Ocean Region	2
Map 2: The Far Eastern Naval Command in Indian Ocean Region	32
Map 3: Summer and Winter Monsoon Wind Pattern	52
Map 4: Spice Routes Around the Indian Ocean Region	52
Map 5: Raja Chola's Maritime Influence in Southeast Asia Region	54
Map 6: European Colonies in Asia	58
Map 7: China's String of Pearls in Indian Ocean Region	100
Map 8: World Oil Chokepoints in the Indian Ocean Region	102
Map 9: Major Sea Lines of Communication in the Indian Ocean Region	118
Map 10: International Boundaries of Malaysia-Singapore-Indonesia in the Southeast Region	144
Map 11: Piracy Attacks in the Indian Ocean Region	145
Map 12: Drug Trail between India and Myanmar	152
Map 13: Areas Affected by the 2004 Tsunami in the Indian Ocean Region	159
Map 14: Indian Search and Rescue Region	161
Map 15: Malaysia's Search and Rescue Region	161

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of India-Southeast Asia Defence Agreements (1993-2015)	33
Table 2: List of India-Southeast Asia Maritime Exercises (1993-2015)	34
Table 3: List of Malaysia-India Defence Cooperation and Naval Activities (1993-2015)	38
Table 4: Actual and Attempted Piracy Attacks 2009-2014 146 in the Southeast Asia Region and India	
Table 5: Drug Cases Involving Malaysia-India via Pakistan 153 (2011-2014)	

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

Diagram 1: The Drivers of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	92
Diagram 2: Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	117
Diagram 3: Emerging Areas of the Maritime Collaboration of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in Mitigating Traditional Security Threats in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	128
Diagram 4: Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	141
Diagram 5: Emerging Areas of Maritime Collaboration of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in Mitigating Non-Traditional Security Threats in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	160
Diagram 6: Factors Critical to the Success of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region	166

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADMM	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting
AIFDR	Australia–Indonesia Disaster Reduction Facility
AMDA	Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASM	Academy of Sciences Malaysia
ASW	Anti-Submarine Warfare
ASEAN	Association of the South East Asian Nation
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
ASSOCHAM	Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States of America Security Treaty
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control Systems
BRN	British Royal Navy
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectorial Technical and Economic Cooperation
CARAT	Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training
CAGR	Compounded Annual Growth Rate
COLREG	International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea
COREG	Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research
CORPAT	Indi-Indo Co-ordinated Patrols

CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CSCAP-MCWG	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Maritime Cooperation Working Group
CECA	Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement
CENTO	The Central Treaty Organization
CSI	Container Security Initiative
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
DEFEXPO	Land, Naval and Internal Homeland Security System Exhibition
DIVEX	Diving Exercises
DIREX	Relief Exercise
EIA	Energy Information Administration
EU	European Union
EIOR	Eastern Indian Ocean Region
EEZs	Economic Exclusive Zones
EIC	East Indian Company
ETP	Economic Transformation Programme
EPP	Entry Point Project
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOC	Flags of Conveniences
FENC	Far Eastern Naval Command
FTAs	Free Trade Agreements
FTX	Field Training Exercise
FPDA	Five Power Defence Agreement

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIK	Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
HADR	Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief
IAF	Indian Air Force
IACETRM	Inter-Agency Committee for Earthquake and Tsunami Risk Management
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
IR	International Relations
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IND INDO CORPAT	Indo-Indonesia Coordinated Patrol
IMB	International Maritime Bureau
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IMB-PRC	International Maritime Bureau Piracy Reporting Center
IMBL	International Maritime Boundary Line
INAF	Indonesian National Armed Forces
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
IORA	Indian Ocean Rim Association
IOTWS	Indian Ocean Tsunami Warning System
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IS	Islamic States
ISPS	International Ship and Port Facility Security
ISC	Information Sharing Centre

IUU	Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing
JI	Jemmah Islamiyah
JWG	Joint Working Group
KMM	Kumpulan Militan Malaysia
LEP	Look East Policy
LIMA	Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace Exhibition
LST	Landing Ships Tank
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MAF	Malaysian Armed Force
MANPADS	Man-Portable Air Defence Systems
MALSINDO	Malaysia-Singapore-Indonesia Accord
MCMX	Mine Counter Measures Exercises
MEF	Minimal Essential Force
MDSTP	Malaysia Defence Technology Park
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MHDP	Malaysian Human Development Report
MIDCOM	Malaysia-India Defence Cooperation Meeting
MITI	Minister of International Trade and Industry Malaysia
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MLFA	Muslim Liberation Tigers of Assam
MIMSC	Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation
MINDEF	Malaysia's Ministry of Defence

MIMA	Maritime Institute of Malaysia
MNF	Malayan Naval Forces
MMEA	Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency
MNTEWS	Malaysian National Tsunami Early Warning System
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MOSTI	Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation
MRO	Maintenance and Repair Overhaul
MSC	Multimedia Super Corridor
MSSI	Malacca Straits Security Initiative
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NKEA	National Key Economic Area
NPAS	Northwest Pacific Advisory System
NWFZ	Nuclear Weapons Free Zone
OIC	Organisation of the Islamic Conference
PATI	Pendatang Tanpa Izin
PASSEX	Passage Exercise
PLAN	People Liberation Army Navy
PRC	People's Republic China
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
PISTON	Pinag-Isang Somahan Ng Tsuper at Operations Nationwide
ReCAAP	Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia
RAN	Royal Australian Navy

RMAP	Royal Malaysian Air Force
RMP	Royal Malaysian Police
RMN	Royal Malaysian Navy
RMSI	Regional Maritime Security Initiative
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
R&D	Research and Development
BRN	British Royal Navy
SAARC	South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation
SAR	Search and Rescue Operation
SALTI	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SBSR	Malaysia's Shipbuilding or Ship Repairing
SBSR 2020	Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Industry Strategic Plan
SCS	South China Sea
SHADE	Shared Awareness and Deconfliction
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
SEA	South East Asia
SEARCCT	Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism
SEATO	Southeast Treaty Organisation
SLOCs	Sea Lines of Communication
SOBM	Straits of Babel Mandeb
SOH	Straits of Hormuz

SOM	Straits of Malacca
SOMS	Cooperative Mechanism on the Straits of Malacca and Singapore
SOLAS	International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea
SOP	Standard Operating Procedures
SMEs	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
TAS	Terrorism at Sea
TSS	Traffic Separation Scheme
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TCA	Thematic Content Analysis
TTX	Table Top Exercise
UN	United Nations
UD	Union Domain
UNGA	United Nation General Assembly
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
USA	United States of America
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
UNDP	United Nation Development Report
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOC	Dutch United East Indian Company

WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction
WPNS	Western Pacific Naval Symposium
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWII	World War Two
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace and Neutrality in SEA
2NMIF	2nd National Marine Industries Forum

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

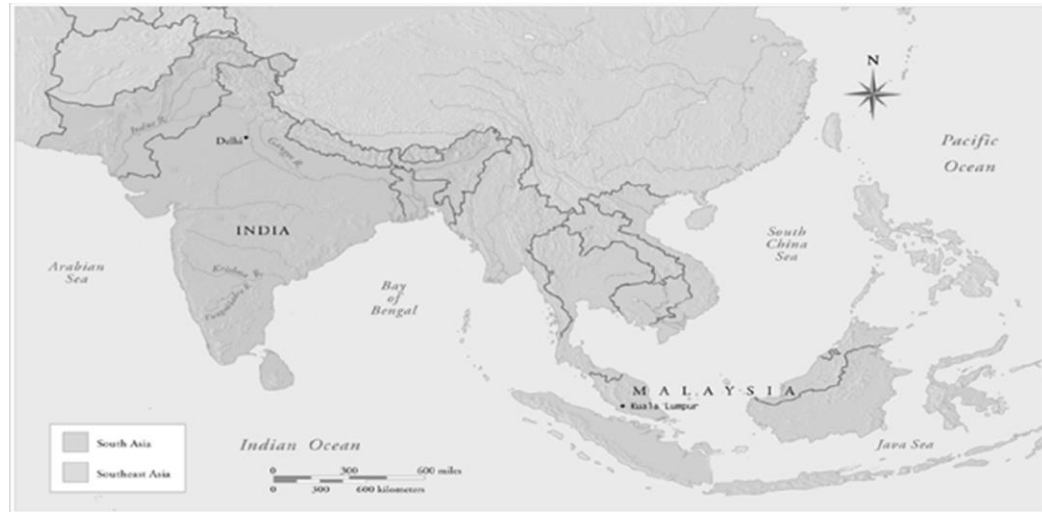
The problem of maritime security is increasingly being recognised by most countries worldwide. This is because it comprises extensive issues that pertain to the management of resources, both living and non-living, that have a critical bearing on the security of many countries. The issue of security has dominated international policy-making agendas, and as a result, most countries have started to prioritise maritime security in their own developmental agendas and policies.

In the Asia–Pacific region, the issue of maritime security is gaining momentum, and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become an area of major significance not only to the Asian maritime powers but worldwide. One of the most telling statements, made by a great American naval strategist, Alfred Thayer Mahan, was perhaps fundamental in shaping the current focus on the IOR. He wrote:

Whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia. The ocean is the key to the seven seas. In the twenty first century, the destiny of the world will be decided on its waters (Mahan 1987).

The IOR has been a major focus because it contributes a major component to: a) the safety and freedom of navigation, b) the economic wellbeing, and c) the political stability of almost any country. Safety and freedom of navigation can be understood by exploring the geographical outlook of IOR, which is an open sea located between the trade routes of east and west. It thus lies at centre-stage of the communication between those regions; it has the most important sea lines of communication (SLOC) between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. It contains the major transportation route for maritime countries for economic purposes throughout the world, and for military purposes as well. But at its boundaries are major maritime choke points such as: a) the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb (SOBM), b) the Strait of Hormuz (SOH), and c) the Strait of Malacca (SOM). These conditions prompt countries to keep a constant watch over the IOR.

Map 1.1 Map of Southeast and South Asia Region in the Indian Ocean Region



Source: www.google.com/image

From an economic viewpoint, the IOR provides a large amount of marine resources to the world: 1) Around 90 per cent of world trade and two thirds of all petroleum supplies travel by sea, and across the IOR runs half of the entire world's container traffic (Kaplan 2010: 7): 2) Approximately 40 per cent of crude oil is transported by sea through the SOH, and 50 per cent of the world's merchant fleet capacity through the SOM (Kaplan 2010: 7): 3) The IOR is a transit route for 70 per cent of all oil trade, and 50 per cent of all international shipping (Ghosh 2012: 1): The IOR is home to 40 per cent of the world's oil and gas reserves, 60 per cent of its uranium, 40 per cent of gold and 80 per cent of its diamonds (Ghosh, Desai and Mavani 2012: 1). However, only one fifth of its total trade is conducted between its littoral states, and the remaining 80 per cent is extra-regional, projecting global interest in the IOR. The economic importance of the vulnerable eastern and western ends of the major SLOCs through the IOR motivates many countries to build a strong toehold in the IOR, for their economic survival.

From the strategic viewpoint, a number of issues have been pointed out in the IOR; for example, a study in 2008 showed that the IOR harboured 146 of the world's total of 345 conflicts (in various forms), meaning 42.3 per cent, including six of nine

wars and a considerable proportion of high-intensity conflicts.¹ The IOR plays an important role in today's world as it is home to more than 2 billion people. It forms an important part of global sea-lines and the economy, including important choke points where these resources can be found. (Heidelberg Institute of International Conflict Research 2014). The IOR is host to many unwinnable traditional maritime issues, broadly categorised as: a) rivalry between the United States of America (USA) and China, b) competition between China and India, c) extra-regional power involvement, and d) maritime disputes. It is also host to non-traditional maritime issues, including: a) piracy, b) terrorism at sea, c) drug trafficking, d) arms and weapon smuggling e) human smuggling, f) natural disasters, and g) environment issues. With its littoral states facing many different forms of maritime challenges, the IOR is a centre of attention for many countries seeking stability.

The scenario has led many Asian countries to focus on maritime security in the IOR. In Southeast Asia (SEA), the major maritime countries such as Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia rate maritime security in the IOR highly. Malaysia is of immense strategic importance (Roche 2013); it is situated at the head of SOM (named after Malacca or Melaka, one of the smallest states of Malaysia), and is the shortest sea route between the Gulf and the important Asian markets and between India, the South China Sea (SCS) and the Pacific Ocean (Roche 2013). At the same time, the SOM suffers from being a major haunt of pirates, terrorists and drug traffickers.

The end of the Cold War witnessed a high level of priorities relating to maritime security issues in the region. For example in 1992, the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN)'s first communiqué on security issues highlighted the necessity of resolving all sovereignty and jurisdictional issues pertaining to the SCS by peaceful means, and urged all parties concerned to exercise restraint with the view to creating a positive climate for the eventual resolution of all disputes (Song and Tonnesson 2013). This resolution refers in particular to the territorial claims over the Spratly Islands. Other examples include the Indonesian South China Sea (SCS) Workshops, which sought to reduce the likelihood of interstate conflict in the SCS, while the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Maritime Cooperation Working Group (CSCAP-MCWG), the Asia-Pacific Economic

¹ Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research 2008. Conflict Barometer 2008. Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg. Retrieved from http://www.hiik.de/en/konfliktbarometer/pdf/ConflictBarometer_2008.pdf (15th August 2012).

Cooperation (APEC) Working Group on Maritime Security, and the Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) all tackled Southeast Asian issues within the broader Asia–Pacific maritime context (Bradford 2005).

In 2003, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) issued a Statement on Cooperation against Piracy and Other Threats to Maritime Security, and in 2004 the Work Program to Implement the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime was established (Bradford 2005). In 2004, Singapore acceded to the Rome Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation.² After the 9/11 terrorists attack in New York, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia focused on counterterrorism measures, cooperating by means of an Information Sharing Centre (ISC). Arrangements were made to patrol the SOM for piracy attacks, the ISC issuing the Singapore Statement on Enhancement of Safety, Security, and Environment Protection in the Strait of Malacca and Singapore, and the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery (ReCAAP) against Ships in Asia (Bradford 2005). Specifically after the General Assembly in 2008, ASEAN countries set up a meeting on maritime safety, which will provide an annual platform to discuss the issues of maritime security.³

Similar maritime cooperation can be seen in South Asia. India is the largest country situated on the IOR, and indeed is at the head of it, so maritime security is a major concern for India. The only ocean named after a country, the IOR is viewed as its own backyard. For other countries, the IOR is no more than an important oceanic area, but to India it is a vital sea because its lifelines are concentrated throughout its surface (Pannikar 1945: 45). India's central point at the IOR, connecting the South East Asian (SEA) nations and the Islamic world, makes India a crucial actor in this sphere. This leverage, however, entails a concern over competition with other major maritime countries, increasing India's security problems in the IOR. This leads India to set a high priority on building a resilient maritime security system in the IOR.

The establishment of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in the 1980s facilitated a set of directions for the security of the South Asia Region, and this included maritime security. In 2006, India offered a patrol boat

² The Maritime and Port Authority of Singapore (MPA). (2004). Singapore Accedes to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (Rome Convention). Retrieved from www.mpa.gov.sg. (10th August 2015).

³ ASEAN Regional Forum Chairman's Statement, 5th Meeting. (2008, July 24). Retrieved from www.aseanregionalforum.org/Home/tabid/36/Default.aspx. (12th July 2015).

as a gift to the Maldivian Navy, and since 2009, the two navies have conducted joint manoeuvres and patrols. In 2011, for instance, New Delhi and Colombo agreed on an annual defence dialogue, holding regular talks and conducting joint military exercises in Sri Lankan waters for the first time (Radhakrishnan 2014). In 2013, India, Sri Lanka and the Maldives signed an agreement to combat piracy, terrorist networks and other illicit activities. This was again the outcome from the 2008 Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), which was established after the UNGA 2008. The IONS is a regional platform built to gather both navies and other maritime agencies around the world to discuss maritime issues in IOR. It is a forum shaped to build a common understanding and view of regional maritime security, in order to mitigate maritime security threats in the region.⁴

A recent arrangement has been the trilateral cooperation between the Maldives, India and Sri Lanka, with meetings held in 2011 in the Maldivian capital of Malé, then in 2013 in Colombo and in 2014 in New Delhi. The trilateral cooperation discussed various issues covering enhanced maritime cooperation between the two countries, including the expanding of bilateral '*dosti*' (friendship) exercises through the holding of table top exercises; further enhancing the sharing of the information on illegal maritime activities through existing points of contact; and the forming of a trilateral sub-group focused on policy and legal issues related to piracy.⁵ At an inter-regional level, in 2004, ASEAN members plus China, South Korea, Japan, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka participated in a ReCAAP exercise, and more of such cooperation is expected to take shape.

At a global level, a legal framework with regard to maritime security can also be observed. The United Nations (UN) plays a major part, in this case shaping the necessary measures for management of the high seas; in 1982, the UNCLOS was established, defining the responsibilities of nations in their use of the world's oceans and defining correct behaviour at sea.

There are also international conventions that focus on specific issues, such as the UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, intended to curb transnational organised crimes. Dealing with terrorism, the transport of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and other such unlawful acts,

⁴ Retrieved from <http://indiannavy.nic.in/ion.htm>. (12th July 2015).

⁵ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. (2013, July 9). Outcome Document of the Second NSA-Level Meeting on Trilateral Cooperation on Maritime Security between India, the Maldives and Sri Lanka. Retrieved from www.mea.gov.in (9th July 2015).

is the 1974 International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS) and the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (ISPS Code). There is also the 1988 Convention for Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (SUA Convention), the 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf, the various UN conventions against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

Many other frameworks under the implementation of UNGA 2008, reflecting the different dimensions of maritime security, include early warning systems for mitigating natural disasters, such as the Indian Ocean tsunami and other coastal hazards warning system. There are also structures for the protection and preservation of the marine environment and for sustainable development, such as pollution from land-based activities, from ships, ocean noise, waste management, ship breaking, dismantling, recycling and scrapping. Others relate to climate change, including greenhouse gas emission from ships, ocean fertilization and carbon sequestration. The wide range of maritime security arrangements shows that maritime security is a challenging task and major IOR countries are taking the necessary steps to curb maritime threats, both traditional and non-traditional.

The IOR attracts maritime business from nations in all parts of the world and it is also a place where maritime security issues are expected to gain momentum. The IOR is concurrently facing a whole host of diverse issues, as discussed above, challenging its coordination and management. These issues are too complex to be resolved unilaterally. A healthy ocean environment requires a cooperative approach between the affected countries in mitigating the growing maritime challenges, both traditional and non-traditional; in other words, maritime security cooperation must be a collective measure in order to overcome uncertainty and reinforce good order at sea.

Malaysia is facing challenges in developing its internal economic status. It is one of the largest trading partners within ASEAN, but more effort and time is required before it can project a stronger maritime power in SEA. Similarly, the need for India to develop the country's economy will remain a major concern; this situation indirectly limits its move to rise as a major maritime power and / or in the IOR. As Walter Ladwig III puts it, while India has the capability to conduct significant operations outside the IOR, its maritime and strategic vision is still at a

considerable distance from its targets; it is not possible to achieve the ambitious mid-2020 goals (Ladwig III 2009: 93). This is because India needs to focus on its internal development.

Harsh Pant, on the other hand, has argued that India's material capabilities do not match its maritime ambitions, and that therefore India will remain among the medium powers, a country of great economic capabilities but of limited cultural and military influence (Pant 2009: 296). Therefore, as Malaysia and India are trying to respond to changing paradigm shifts in the IOR maritime security, internal weaknesses encourage both to adopt persuasive strategies such as diplomacy and/or cooperation in IOR. Consequently, these strategies have resulted in the development/formation/emergence of MIMSC.

1.2 Problem Statement

The thesis investigates the emergence of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation (MIMSC) in response to traditional and non-traditional security threats in the EIOR.

The thesis seeks to argue that although both Malaysia and India have identified the maritime significance that the EIOR hold for them, and also the common threat they face in that region that demands their cooperation, it appears at present that MIMSC in EIOR bears a lack of robustness in its engagement. This is despite both an appreciation of the historical relations between the two countries, and a substantial ability to address the challenges of the EIOR. The positive relations that are challenged by these maritime threats show that there is need to identify the potential drivers that may determine the existence, extent and depth of the maritime cooperation between both oceanic neighbours. Though there is pressing need for both countries to draw up effective maritime policies it is, however, unclear why these countries have failed to do so.

The paucity of scientific investigation into the question of what are the drivers, which may influence the decision of the two, states to draw up effective maritime policy cooperation despite their historical and current potential to do so. There is further need to look into the common traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats that both nations face and may seek to mitigate through their maritime security cooperation. It is the absence of substantive explanatory arguments, which turn this question into a significant field of academic inquiry.

In setting out the case for Malaysia and India to cooperate on maritime security in the IOR, their mutual needs and cooperative behaviour can be explored by considering domestic situations within each of those two countries and by looking at the historical background of naval and sociocultural relationships between both nations.

In the field of IR, it is the motivation for two states to connect that often forms the fundamental approach to drawing a wider perspective of state relations. The socio-cultural proximity in addition to the oceanic neighbourhood between Malaysia and India speaks of the existence of their tacit understanding, which is the pre-requisite of any explicit agreement of maritime cooperation. The maritime interactions between South East Asian (SEA) nations and the Indian subcontinent represent a large component of the entire volume of maritime interception in IOR. This history of this interaction dates back to the beginning of first millennium CE, continuing steadily to the present day. Historian G. Coedes called SEA the 'Indianized states', and other scholars such as C. Majumdar and H. B. Sarkar called SEA the Greater India or Further India (Prakash and Lombard 1999: 163-164).

Given the strong maritime bonds resulting in a sociocultural diaspora between Malaysia and India make it necessary to study MIMSC from a historical perspective to set the contextual rationale of debate of the thesis. The historical maritime relations between Malaysia and India have been taking newer shapes during cold war and post-cold war period. The cold war period has been an intermission period between the long spanned bilateral maritime relations. Yet, despite different foreign policy connotations of both nations during this period, their leadership kept expressing strong desire and advocacy favouring national maritime security, sovereignty and peace in East Asian Indian Ocean Region (EIOR). The exhaustive multilateral dialogues between Malaysia and India also continued kept their maritime relation alive if not active from the forums such as United Nation (UN) and the Non Aligned Movement (NAM).

Thus a deeper understanding of the history of maritime relations between Malaysia and India is a pre-requisite to elaborate on the emergence and dimensions of bilateral maritime relations between these nations in EIOR. A more detailed discussion on the history of Malaysia-India maritime relations and cultural diaspora is required in order to contextualise the potential and challenges of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation (MIMSC).

In addition to historical understanding of MIMSC, it is vital to examine the macro and micro level of maritime issues spanning across the IOR and its implication towards the bilateral relations between Malaysia and India. In other words, it is essential to understand the pull factors of MIMSC in the IOR to comprehend better their cooperative behaviour in the region.

On this front, the thesis will examine the drivers involved in explaining the motivation of Malaysia and India in the IOR. This term ‘driver’ derived from Johnson, Whittington and Scholes, who have coined the term as a change to describe the forces, which are likely to affect macro environment and thereby influencing the strategic position of a country (Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington 2008).

These scholars argues that although there will be a number of changes occurring in the macro environment, it will be the combined effect of just some of these separate factors (drivers) that will be so important, rather than all of the factors separately. Understanding the scenarios as detailed as possible and the plausible views of how the macro environment might develop in the future based on groupings of key environmental influences/drivers of change will shape a better understanding of an issue in rise. For the purpose of the current study, it is important to analyse the macro environment spanning across IOR and identify the key drivers of MIMSC.

The thesis will also identify the potential traditional and non-traditional security (refer to Chapter 2 for definition of key terms) threats being faced commonly by both nations that provide the rational of MIMSC. The wide range of maritime security arrangements among various IOR nations in Asia reflect that maritime security is a challenging task and in elaborating and explaining the MIMSC in EIOR, it is vital to identify key security issues both traditional and non-traditional that drives the bilateral maritime security relations between Malaysia and India.

Finally, the thesis will examine the critical success factors, in order to understand the factors deterring both countries for a stronger cooperation. Rockart and MIT Sloan Scholl of Management coined the term ‘critical success factor’ in 1979 for the purpose of managing their organisation (Rockart 1979). This involves setting objectives, shaping strategies, making decisions, and measuring results against goals (Daniel 1961). Similarly, in managing the maritime cooperation in the IOR, identifying the threats are not sufficient enough, but it is also crucial to examine the key factors at the implementation level both Malaysia and India should

focus on such as setting realistic goals, short term strategies, and execution plans for a better and stronger cooperation.

In sum, this thesis will ask three sub-questions, relating to: a) the drivers of MIMSC in EIOR, b) the emerging areas of maritime cooperation in mitigating traditional and non-traditional threats in EIOR, and c) the critical factors that would ideally contribute towards a successful MIMSC in EIOR. The dissertation will cover the dynamics of MIMSC from the post-Cold War era in EIOR, and draw more substantial answers to how MIMSC in the post-Cold War period is a ‘missed opportunity’ but presents a ‘promising opportunity’ to address issues of maritime security threats in the EIOR.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is twofold. The first is to address a gap in the literature concerning IR. In the field of IR, maritime studies is an evolving and emerging subject; with growing maritime challenges, both traditional and non-traditional, the study of maritime security needs a perpetual re-evaluation between states. India is an emerging maritime power concerned with the IOR, just as is Malaysia in the SOM. The ever-expanding maritime challenges in the EIOR need to be continuously reassessed, as do the vital roles of these two countries in mitigating traditional and non-traditional threats and around it.

Such continuous assessment would firstly assist in identifying new and emerging areas of maritime challenge, which require more attention or further research in the study of IR. As mentioned above, maritime cooperation is an evolving field, and constant review is required in order to shape a more comprehensive relationship between states. By conducting this study, new areas of cooperation that are under-studied or worth addressing in the study of MIMSC in EIOR can be identified.

Secondly, this study will help reduce the gaps in the understanding of the different dimensions of maritime security. There is no single, accepted definition of the term and so a deeper understanding becomes possible by exploring its different facets. This study should help to provide more details relating to these facets, and indeed to the overall scope of maritime security specifically in context of MIMSC. The thesis focuses first on maritime power and the navy, in order to help understand the concept of maritime security from the viewpoint of security, both national and

human.

The third aim of the study relates to the lack of awareness of maritime issues among policy makers and government ministries of both Malaysia and India. There is a pressing need for the further appreciation of maritime policies amongst policy makers. ‘Sea blindness’ was a serious problem for India in the past, as for Malaysia; the lack of political vision has led to ineffective maritime policies. This study will reveal ways to appreciate maritime power and a better understanding of the navy as an important instrument in a foreign policy. It is hoped that this awareness will shape a better maritime strategic thinking amongst policy makers, and enable the preparation of better security management at the execution level. This study has targeted policy makers from various maritime departments and naval officers, to create more substantial links with academic think tanks and researchers. This process should be supported by the study’s critical analysis of MIMSC in EIOR.

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

This research study comprises eight chapters. After describing the problem statement in this chapter, Chapter 2 reviews and synthesises the key literature in the area of MIMSC in the context of the Look East Policy (LEP). The chapter also describes key terms used throughout the thesis. Later sections of Chapter 2 discuss the methods and approaches adopted by this research study. The methodology sections describe in detail the qualitative research design, and data collection methods and settings associated with the qualitative design used in this study.

Chapter 3 sets out the historical background of the evolution of MIMSC. The chapter covers three important timeframes: the pre-colonial period, the European colonisation period in Asia, and the Cold War. All these historical timeframes have a strong bearing on the foundation of MIMSC in the EIOR. Chapter 4 examines the drivers of MIMSC in the EIOR in the post-Cold War era. The chapter sets out the empirical data gathered from in-depth personal and group interviews of policy-related informants on both sides about the changing dynamics of geopolitics and the potential drivers of MIMSC in the EIOR.

Chapter 5 discusses the MIMSC and the mitigation of traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR, and Chapter 6 deals with the non-traditional threats. Chapter 7 discusses the critical factors that will contribute to a successful MIMSC in EIOR. Chapter 8, the conclusion, summarises the study of MIMSC in the EIOR.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part One focuses on the definitions of key terms and available body of literature on the MIMSC in the EIOR. The research evidence synthesised in this section provides the rationale for the research study undertaken for the doctoral thesis. In Part Two, the methodological detail of the research study are described.

2.2 Part One: Definitions of Key terms

This section will explain the different definition of maritime security that is often related to and later discuss the most relevant definition and approach in the study of maritime security in order to convey and justify the two dimensions (traditional and non-traditional maritime security) adopted by the thesis in Chapter 5 and 6.

2.21 *Maritime Security*

Maritime security is a comprehensive and multifaceted term with essentially pointing to peace and security at naval borders. However, similar to the concept of ‘national security’, it may convey different meaning, depending on the context and the users (Buegar 2015). So perhaps maritime security can be better understood through an exploration of the different concepts it relates. The 2008 UNGA report on Ocean and Law of Sea has generally classified several specific threats that may relate to the concept of maritime security.

For example, it is linked with the evolution of maritime safety relating to the activities of international maritime transport from the economic perspective. This includes improving maritime safety of vessels and ships carrying either the economic or the exercise of economic activities, transport of dangerous goods and the safety of routes used for international navigation.⁶ In linking with economic development, the concept of maritime security means providing a secure maritime environment, which is vital for the management of marine resources (Buegar 2015). This also includes

⁶United Nations of General Assembly. (2008, March 10th). Oceans and the Law of the Sea: Report of the Secretary-General. (8th July 2015).

embracing sustainable and ecological management strategies, which requires a practical implementation and constant inception of laws and order.

Under this cluster, it also emphasized the role of human element as a critical part in creating a safe and secure marine environment for economic related development.⁷ This involves securing maritime professionals at sea and the right management of seafarers and fishers in terms of providing a safe living and working conditions at sea and adopting the right approach in handling marine casualties and marine incidents⁸. It can also be related to another human activity at sea, which is the safety of migration of people by sea from incidents of deaths and the safety of ships and maritime installations at sea. Maritime security can also be connected with the concept of the ‘good order of the sea’ whereby the sea as a resource, as a medium for trade and information exchange for continuous human development and survival faces threats and requires a good order. (Till 2009).

Maritime security can also be linked to mitigating cross border activities which are threatening a country such as: a) the act of terrorist against shipping and offshore installations, b) piracy and armed robbery against ships, c) illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, d) illicit trafficking in arms and weapons of mass destruction, e) smuggling and trafficking of persons by sea, f) illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) and g) international and unlawful damage to the marine environment, as a particularly grave form of maritime pollution due to the potential to threaten the security of on or more states given the impact on social and economic interest of coastal states (Klein 2011:10)

Nevertheless, to conclude the most precise and relevant definition of maritime security, we may refer it to two dimensions: a) traditional maritime security and b) non-traditional maritime security. The dichotomy of traditional and non-traditional security threats that has been used widely in the present study of security and international relations, and similarly the thesis has also utilised this dichotomy to group the maritime issues commonly faced by Malaysia and India in EIOR and recommend the need for a better cooperation in the future (Chapter 5 and 6).

Traditional maritime threats covers elements such as I) freedom of navigation at territorial water and high sea, II) conducting naval activities, and III) protection from

⁷ United Nations of General Assembly. (2008, March 10th). Oceans and the Law of the Sea: Report of the Secretary-General. (8th July 2015).

⁸ Ibid. (8th July 2015).

direct threats to the territorial integrity of a country, such as an armed attack from a military vessel, intrusion and trespassing over territorial waters, and territorial water claims by other countries. In other words, a threat that is imposed by a state to another state causing danger and instability towards a particular nation and sovereignty is a traditional threat.

Non-traditional maritime security on the other hand covers the elements such as I) piracy, II) armed robbery against ships and III) terrorist acts, and IV) other illicit activities at sea. The differences non-traditional maritime threats embeds is however noticed in terms of the danger it poses to the human security and the stability of a region a whole rather than to one state or nation as described earlier. The rise of globalisation and advance technology is one of the major drive, which has increased human mobility across national borders; ultimately leveraging cross borders activities across the globe. As a consequence, non-state actors began taking advantage of such leverage and began conducting illegal activities and impacting human security and destabilising global security.

A large number of studies in international relations have made use of these two clusters in discussing maritime security issues in the IOR. Hence, the thesis has also adopted the similar norms in order to analyse the maritime threats faced by both Malaysia and India in the EIOR.

2.22 *Drivers of Change*

The literature in business management within strategic planning studies defines scenarios as detailed and plausible views of how the macro environment might develop in the future based on groupings of key environmental influences. The key environmental influencers who shape the plausible yet uncertain pictures of future are termed as drivers of change (Johnson, Scholes & Whittington 2008). The drivers are thus key influencers which can significantly change the external environment and thereby the scenario. Strategic planning by the managers relies on the possible scenario and the drivers that may shape these pictures of possible future worlds. Drivers of change thus refer to factors that are likely to influence future scenarios and thus enhance strategic foresight. Understanding of drivers of change provides the context and rationale of strategic responses by the policy makers (Shillabeer, Buss and Rousseau 2011). The literature on public policy has also been making increased use of the terms strategic foresight, scenario analysis and drivers of change in order to

enable more effective public policy initiatives and their success (Leigh 2003). Use of scenarios and understanding drivers, which may influence these, has significantly improved the effectiveness of public policy initiatives⁹.

Within the context of current study, it seems important to elaborate possible scenarios of MIMSC and the key drivers of MIMSC that are important in shaping it. By looking at these drivers, the study can propose the possibility and potential of maritime security cooperation between Malaysia and India in EIOR. Identification of these drivers would significantly enhance the strategic foresight of the policy makers in both countries regarding the common issues and a collective response to these.

2.23 Emerging Areas of Cooperation

As has been discussed in the above section on drivers, scenario analysis is an important part of strategic planning. Scenarios are referred to as possible pictures of how future would look like and thereby enhance the strategic foresight or ability to correctly foresee the strategic environment and thereby enable effective strategic planning. Within the context of present study it is necessary to understand the possible areas of maritime security cooperation in EIOR between Malaysia and India.

2.24 Critical Success Factors

The term Critical success factors (CSFs) is used in management literature on strategic planning to denote elements that are necessary for an organisation, project or proposed plan to achieve its mission and objectives. CSFs are activities required for ensuring the success of a proposed strategy, plan or initiative. The term was initially used in the world of business analysis.

Critical success factors are those few things that must go well to ensure success for a manager or an organisation, and, therefore, they represent those managerial or enterprise areas, that must be given special and continual attention to bring about high performance. CSFs include issues vital to a n

⁹ Kamensky, J. M., Antonelli, A. M., Blockwood, J. C., Breul, J. D., Brown, D. S., Bussow, M., ... & Mihm, C. J. Bringing Strategic Foresight to Bear in Policy Planning and Management.

organisation's current operating activities and to its future success (Boynton & Zmud 1984).

Recently the literature in public management has also made use of the term to elaborate on success of strategic planning in public policy and initiatives (Burstein & Black 2014). In relation to the current study on MIMSC in EIOR, it is important to identify the CSFs, which would influence the desired outcomes or results of this strategic initiative. Identifying the mere potential merit of MIMSC is important yet not complete enough from strategic viewpoint unless the factors that may influence the success of such cooperation are elaborated. Identification of such CSFs would help policy makers on both sides to design the maritime cooperative strategy in a way that maximises its advantages to both parties. This study thus seeks to identify and elaborate the CSFs of maritime security cooperation between Malaysia and India in EIOR.

2.3 Buzan's Regional Complex Theory: Securitising the Threats in Eastern Indian Ocean Region for Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation

The thesis has used the Buzan's Regional Complex Theory to discuss and securitise the maritime threats in the EIOR for both Malaysia and India. Buzan is pioneer in modern security studies and has given rebirth to the phenomenon of security using his unique methodological approach. According to Barry Buzan:

“Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Quite where this range of concerns ceases to merit the urgency of the “security” label (which identifies threats as significant enough to warrant emergency action and exceptional measures” (Buzan 1991).

Buzan's approach is an interesting one as he looks at security from all angles going from micro to macro and addressing the socially constructionist aspects of security elaborating how people or societies construct or “securitise” threats. Buzan attempts to elaborate security or security issues using social constructivism epistemology. According to his analytical method termed as Security Theory,

security issues need to be seen not just as given but in reference to the people and state, their objectives and narratives which are vital in shaping issues as security (Buzan 1991).

His categorisation of security issues in five sectors namely Political, Military, Economic, Societal, and Environmental seeks to analyse how these sectors of security might affect the “periphery” based on changes in the “center” referred to as state. The peripheries are referred to as state’s various sub areas of foreign policy and international relations, which are affected when, state or center’s security is affected by threats in any of the dimensions of security. Greater contribution of Buzan’s theory of security analysis is extending the concept of security to include economic, societal and environmental dimensions in addition to existing military and political ones. This extension has allowed security studies to look at the phenomenon of security and potential threats in a more specific manner.

Another dimension that is important to consider is Buzan’s contribution to the study of regional security. The concept of regional security, while seeming obvious to some, is one that, like the issue as a whole, had not been adequately addressed before Barry Buzan. When studying this aspect of security Buzan states, “security is a relational phenomenon. Because security is relational, one cannot understand the national security of any given state without understanding the international pattern of security interdependence in which it is embedded.” In his analysis of regional security and how it affects the concept of security as a whole, Buzan offers several interesting and important concepts. The first is that of “amity and enmity among states”, in other words relationships between states that can represent a spectrum from friendship or alliances to those marked by fear. According to Buzan, the concepts of amity and enmity cannot be attributed solely to the balance of power. The issues that can affect these feelings range from things such as ideology, territory, ethnic lines, and historical precedent. This is important to understand as the concept of amity/enmity leads to the idea of what Buzan refers to as “security complex” which is “a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.”

This interpretation takes into consideration a security complex that is at odds as well as one that is unified under shared interests. Security complexes can be useful in terms of policy and they also provide a good framework to discuss issues that are

endemic to any one region. If the solution can be found only from within the context of the complex, then the policy should be made from within this context as well. The ideas of regional security and security complexes are important as every state can put its security in relation to at least one complex. This brings us to the most important point about regional security: the fact that regional security is a part of the hierarchy of the security problem, sitting between domestic and global or international security and cannot be left out of the puzzle. The consequences of not taking regional security into consideration could be disastrous for any state that chooses to do so.

The Buzan's theory and his pioneer approaches in the study of security have been used significantly in drawing a more valid understanding and logical explanations of MIMSC in the EIOR. The thesis exploited the overall existing and emerging maritime issues that are present in the IOR through a substantial literature review process and identified the major security challenges faced by both Malaysia and India in the region. Parallel to Buzan's approach of considering security from all aspects of societies, the study has analysed literatures from various perspectives and it has securitised the specific maritime issues that are a direct threats to both Malaysia and India in the EIOR and its implications to the people of both countries, its state's sovereignty, military and politics in whole.

Whilst Buzan's regional security complex theory argues that states the least could relate one complex (one issue) with another state, MIMSC are driven and influenced by many issues in the region setting a strong foundation of the thesis.

Using both Buzan's approach of analysing security of all aspects and clustering the issues based on the dichotomy of traditional and non-traditional security threats that are often used in the study of international studies has allowed identification and analysis of maritime security issues in more specific and rigorous manner so as to elaborate their relevance to and significance for MIMSC in EIOR. This theory and dichotomy of security issues seeks to enable a more sophisticated academic enquiry and produce more actionable policy recommendations through this research study. These can be observed in Chapter 5 (traditional maritime issues) and 6 (non-traditional maritime issues).

The securitisation of maritime issues specifically both Malaysia and India in the region on the other hand is driven from the problem statement of the thesis. It argued that although both Malaysia and India have identified the maritime significance that the EIOR hold for them, and also the common threat they face in that region that

demands their cooperation, it appears at present that MIMSC in EIOR bears a lack of robustness in its engagement. The lack of engagement is because Malaysia and India holds little understand of its role and function as security partners in the region despite both appreciating its historical relations as well as the substantial ability to address the maritime security challenges in the EIOR. Hence, it was concluded that MIMSC in the EIOR is a *missed opportunity*.

The missed opportunity is because both countries fail to securitise the threats or in other words the security complexes that links together which otherwise could be mitigated as cooperative partners in the region. The literature has provided sufficient evidence that diverse aspect of maritime security policies of both countries are not affecting the individual countries but the EIOR as whole urging for better cooperation. The failure of both countries to considerate the maritime issues as a regional security that requires cooperation from both parties will lead to instability of region as well as its own individual sovereignty.

The idea of describing the historical links (Chapter 3) and identifying the key drivers of MIMSC in the EIOR (Chapter 4) is driven from the Buzan's idea of security complex where explains that the maritime relations between Malaysia and India cannot be vaguely perceived from the aspect of classic balance of power in the region but it should focus on shared interests and historical standards embedded in the minds of both countries. Analysing and discussing the key drivers of the relationship will set forth the level of friendship or adversary and provide better appreciation of their primary national interest in the maritime domain. In addition, the identification of maritime interests between the countries offers the realisation that the roles and functions of both countries in ensuring the safety and security of maritime environment in the region cannot be view separately.

On the other hand, the idea of recognising the emerging areas of maritime cooperation in mitigating traditional and non-traditional threats in EIOR (Chapter 5 and 6) is also parallel with Buzan's theory. Buzan's security complex approach provides a solid platform in understanding the future directions of foreign policies. As discussed earlier, the fundamental idea of securitising issues that are the concern of both countries gives a clear viewpoint of the emerging or abandoned areas of cooperation that should be in focus.

In addition, it also exposes the policy failures and encourages the research to investigate the reason for such scenario. The thesis used substantial amount of

interviews outcomes both in Malaysia and India to understand the critical factors that would ideally contribute towards a successful MIMSC in EIOR (Chapter 7). The Buzan's approach gave sufficient support in providing recommendations for policy makers in both countries as well as the region.

The maritime security cooperation of Malaysia and India in the Eastern Indian Ocean region is at rise and there is a high need for securitising the particular phenomenon in the study of international relations. The Buzan's Regional Complex Theory has offered a strong manifesto and consciousness in the literature and in directing the thesis towards its aim and objective. It assisted in strategizing and securitising the MIMSC in the EIOR as an international security issue for both the countries as well as the Indian Ocean region.

2.4 Part Two: Look East Policy and Act East Policy: An Overview

At the outset, an overview of the Look East Policy (LEP) and Act East Policy (AEP), usually key elements in the study of India-SEA relations, is presented. The LEP was established in the early 1990s and continues to have high-level substance and relevance. More recently, AEP under Modi's government has reenergized India's foreign policy aspirations and initiatives for deeper and more action oriented cooperation between India and SEA nations. It is therefore essential to analyse the LEP and recent evolution of AEP, of which the maritime dimension is a crucial component.

The LEP signifies the need for enhanced cooperation in all areas of strategic cooperation in both regions, especially from the maritime viewpoint. The chapter then discusses a much-detailed note on the maritime engagement between India and major maritime countries in the SEA region. The third part of this chapter discusses the literature on MIMSC and its key features; it also introduces the context and content of the research questions and areas of deeper analysis, such as the evolution of MIMSC in the post-Cold War period in the context of LEP. This literature review also helps the researcher to explain the study results and compare these with the available literature on MIMSC in EIOR.

From the beginning of 1990, the foreign policy resulting from the Cold War had brought significant changes to the relationship between Malaysia and India. Historically, India's relationship with the SEA countries had been firm and diplomatic. Trading relationships between these countries can be traced back more

than 1000 years. This relationship was not merely the cornerstone of commerce; the partners had profound effects on each other's linguistics, religion, culture, and business (Zhang 2006: 15). To date, SEA countries remain the first resort for Indian migrants (*ibid*). From the inception of World War II and British colonisation, a seamless geopolitical situation prevailed in the IOR and SEA (Singh 2001: 25-26). In addition, an inalienable cultural bond, in existence since the time of the Indus Valley civilisation had been instrumental in establishing formal and informal support. Such regional interdependence was witnessed in the areas of development, and was in fact the predecessor of the LEP between Malaysia and India.

In the following section, the literature on LEP and AEP and its influence on the two littoral states in EIOR will be discussed.

2.41 *India's Look East Policy and Act East Policy*

At the beginning of the 19th century, the insular position taken by India prevented the country from upholding the LEP. Moreover, during the Cold War, India's Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) created a temporary rift in co-operation between the regions. During this period, India downplayed engagement and cooperation with the members of ASEAN¹⁰. This was pertinent when India signed separate trade accords with Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand in 1966 and 1968. At the same time, a treaty for collaboration for agriculture and culture was signed with Malaysia. Although the action was less well understood, this was mainly because ASEAN was labelled as anti-communist by other competing nations.

Further, India's behaviour during this time created a high level of anxiety amongst in the ASEAN countries. For example, in 1997, India owned two aircrafts projecting its capability as a big maritime power, perceived during this period as a threat (Mak 2001: 152). In addition to this, India's natural geographical location in IOR was viewed with concern by other countries. This is because India's Andaman Islands were adjacent to the SOM, a vital choke point that leads to the far eastern hemisphere in the IOR. The location of Andaman Sea in the IOR was seen as an advantage for India to have a bigger role, whether amongst the big power league or as a leader amongst smaller countries in the region.

Further, during the Cold War, the ASEAN sub-region was not a priority in its

¹⁰ The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a political and economic organisation of ten SEA countries formed in 1967. The members of ASEAN are Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam.

foreign policy making and vice versa. This is because the Cold War mentality during this time strongly influenced the disconnect in ASEAN-India relations. As a result, ASEAN-Indian maritime relations were kept very low-key.

In 1970, India formally renounced its partnership with ASEAN (Man Mohini Kaul 2001: 56), and efforts were made to establish a strong military base in order to counter the threat from Pakistan in particular. This action plan intimidated other SEA countries, as India began to gain a strong hold in the IOR with substantial maritime capability. As a result, the bridge for friendships and partnerships between ASEAN-India was not possible.

At the end of the Cold War, the recurrent economic crises and the constant movements of globalisation forced India to change its purview of SEA countries. In the 1990s, the upsurge of economic development in the Asian Tigers¹¹ redirected India from its policy of self-sufficiency to one of reunion with ASEAN, in order to gain economic strength and play a vital role in global development (Sikri 2009: 113). At this crucial juncture, it became necessary for India to improve its domestic economic condition. This need was presented as India's LEP in the early 1990's. India's development in communication and the economy was dependent on Bangladesh while the LEP provided new sets of opportunities for establishing new links with Myanmar through Bangladesh. Notably, there was a pressing need to address economic disparities among India's northeastern states, which had limited capacity for investment, trade, infrastructure, logistics, agribusiness, and other commercial activities (Zhang 2006: 17). The subsequent dissolution of an economic partnership with the Soviet Union compelled India to undergo economic reform in 1991 (Zhang 2006: 113).

In 1992, India initiated the first phase of its LEP under the leadership of Prime Minister Narashimha Rao. Strong economic pressures revived India's interest in the ASEAN markets, mainly in Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. These Asian countries had tremendous natural resources and technological skills, and the capacity to export many computer and automobile spare parts. Because SEA was more of a domestic demand community, it attracted India to build economic space through the export of goods, service, technology, and capital (Chowdhury nd: 2). As a result of

¹¹ 'Asian Tigers' is a term used in reference to the highly developed economies of Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong. They were notable for maintaining exceptionally high growth rates and rapid industrialisation between the early 1960s and the 1990s.

economic interactions with SEA states, India established regional economic and political stability, crucial in a growing global economy (Bava 2007: 3).

Since 1992, India has enshrined its partnership in several agreements with SEA nations through the ASEAN platform. These includes: a) Sectoral Dialogue Partner in 1992, b) Full Dialogue Partner in 1995, and c) formal membership in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1996. Corroborating evidence suggests that strategic establishment diminished China's influence in SEA, but in turn, China expanded its partnership with Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar in the Mekong Sub-region Programs (Zhang 2006: 17).

At the beginning of the 20th century, raising humanity out of mass poverty was a major concern for developing nations. Hence, the LEP focus was on establishing economic relationships with the SEA countries through the ASEAN platform. In 1997, India joined the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectorial Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and in 2000. India sponsored the Mekong–Ganga River Cooperation Project, to expand solidarity, harmony and cooperation in the fields of tourism, culture and education, for the purpose of rapid social and economic development. In this project were India and five SEA countries: Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar (Mazumdar n.d). In 2002, India appeared as a Submit Level Partner for strategic partnership with ASEAN members, and in 2005, it gained membership of the East Asian Summit (Ladwig 2009: 94). In 2003, India established the Long Term Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity with ASEAN. This interest was renewed in the ASEAN–India Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) in 2009.

This was also very apparent in the rhetorical speeches delivered by Indian stakeholders on sustainable growth and revitalisation of the rural economy, education, health, infrastructure, environmental resources, essential public services, and the financial system (Hong 2006: 67). One of the more widely cited quotes was: 'India would become free from poverty by becoming a major global power in the world economy' (Hong 2006: 67). For India, the LEP was not just an external economic policy to establish partnership with SEA states; it was a passport to serve long-term interests for sustainable development and competing in the global economic race.

In fact, the economic benefits of the LEP sparked interest among SEA countries. India's vision for engagement with the SEA region included the following areas of

development: trade, foreign direct investment, human resources, infrastructure, health, science, technology, and connectivity. In a very real sense, India's added advantages of its population size and its market-oriented economy attracted the SEA region as a fruitful ally. In hindsight, economic engagement within the SEA region took on a high momentum after the Cold War.

Whilst many other ASEAN countries were actively engaged, it is vital to understand India's economic engagement with Malaysia, in order to better grasp Malaysia and India's bilateral relationship under the banner of the LEP. In 2007, Malaysia and India commemorated fifty years of their diplomatic relations. Subsequently October 2010, the Malaysia–India engagement formed a yet stronger foundation through the establishment of their Strategic Partnership, which meant strengthening their bilateral ties and re-engaging in areas such as the economy, security–defence, and socio-cultural dimensions.

There are several issues that determine the magnitude of the Malaysia-India relationship from an economic point of view. First and foremost, trade and investment has been at the heart of Malaysia-India ties for since the launch of the LEP. In 2013, trade with India amounted to USD13.38 billion, an increase of 2.49 per cent from 2012 (Nathan and Chandran 2015: 359–360). According to the 2013 report by the Ministry of International and Trade Industry (MITI), exports contracted by 12.2 per cent to USD8.17 billion, and imports recorded the tremendous increase of 38.8 per cent to USD5.21 billion.

As a developing country, Malaysia is a country that receives foreign direct investment (FDI) from growing economic countries like India. This characteristic has scored highly in India's relationship with Malaysia; Malaysia is one of the top 20 investor in India. At present, there are 61 Indian joint ventures in India, in sectors ranging from palm oil refining, power, railways and civil engineering construction, to Information Technology (IT) (Bhattacharya 2007). There are 67 Indian IT companies that enjoy Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) status in Malaysia (Bhattacharya 2007). There are also some 20 other Indian companies in various manufacturing sectors (*ibid*).

Furthermore, the relationship between Malaysia's Petronas and the Indian Oil Corporation, have contributed to strong income. Technological collaboration is another driving force. India's superiority in software, biotechnology, telecommunications, genomics, and space technology can be of enormous value to

Malaysia, while Malaysia's vast experience in art information and communication technology infrastructure and agro-based industries, as well as the consolidation of tourism success, can be valuable learning experiences for India (Bhattacharya 2007). Malaysia and India are natural partners, and both countries are emerging economies that offer beneficial economic opportunities for one another.

However, ASEAN did not welcome India's vision to build security pacts. This was mainly due to political and economic instability, and the position India took in the Cold War created the strong opinion that India was under the influence of the Soviet Union (Sridharan 2001: 74.) One particular incident can convey this scenario. During the Cold War, India supported Heng Samrin's regime in Cambodia during the Vietnam-Cambodia war. This behaviour led many other SEA countries to perceive India with mistrust in the region. In a geographical sense, India's ambition overlapped with other South Asian and SEA nations, increasing tension among ASEAN states. This was most clearly seen in the countries with neighbouring maritime boundaries, generating the potential consequence of a regional middle-power tussle for dominance (Grare 2001: 125). Further, India's hostile attitude towards Pakistan and China, and its positivity about the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the nuclear test in 1998, added fuel to the fire.

These perceptions of India slowly declined after India's rapprochement with the USA in the mid-1990s. The rapprochement process did not mean India acted as the USA proxy or crony to fight against China's rising dominance in Asia but rather as a responsible emerging power in the region to ensure a more balanced security environment. Soon, India projected an independent role in the region and gained the confidences of the ASEAN members.

Tireless confidence-building efforts to gain trust from the ASEAN were visible. For example, in a public speech at Singapore in 1994, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said that:

India wants to be part of the rapidly growing security structure in the region to reduce the uncertainty arising from its political military activities. Instead, India wants to contribute to the security of Asia, which can reduce its suspicions and military intention in the region. (Grare 2001: 126).

The firm commitment towards the LEP led India to lobby for security in various forums. One particularly noticeable form was the ARF, a regional security grouping that included Asia-Pacific powers such as Australia, China, Japan, the USA, the

European Union (EU) and Russia (Ladwig 2009: 94). Unsurprisingly, India, which had been opposed in the past, received wide publicity and support in the ARF. This was mainly because of the drastic revision of Indian policy in support of multilateral security.

From the early 2000s, a series of unforgettable incidents triggered all countries to work on a common security agenda. In 1999, the Kargil War (cross-border terrorism) challenged India's security capacity and political will. The 9/11 terrorist attack of 2001 in the USA amplified the need for a strong security commitment by all countries, worldwide. These events reminded India and ASEAN countries that the IOR is also vulnerable to cross-border threats, and that there was therefore a pressing need for a maritime security and emergency response to terrorism. During that period, the world witnessed unified engagement and defence cooperation in the IOR. India's security vision towards the SEA region in response to threats such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), maritime terrorism and transnational crime is still under construction.

On the other hand, the growing influence of China had led ASEAN countries to seek a balance in the region. China's superior attitude in the SCS has created anxiety amongst neighbouring countries like Vietnam, the Philippines and Cambodia. In addition to this, China is slowly expanding its naval presence by establishing friendships with countries like Myanmar and Sri Lanka at the major waters of IOR. This security dilemma worried the countries such as Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia that bound the SOM. Smaller countries in the region, fearing unilateralism by the big powers, see India as a potential security provider (Sikri 2009: 115). The symbiotic relationship between Malaysia and India is the reason for a positive engagement between the two regions. Through this, India can seek the friendship of Malaysia to ensure its presence at the SOM, the soft belly of China in the IOR and on the other hand, Malaysia needs India not just to strengthen security against China but also to share responsibility as a partner in ensuring the safety of SOM waters.

Nevertheless, for a short period, India's maritime security vision received endorsement from the ASEAN, laying the foundations for Phase Two of the LEP. This was achieved by an improved alliance with China and diplomacy with the USA, and its support and acknowledgement to the provisions of ASEAN's 1967 charter (Mohan 2012: 95). India's unequivocal position gained momentum for the LEP as a result of two major changes: a) by expanding the definition of 'East', India crossed

beyond the ASEAN extended first phase to Australia and East Asia, and b) there was a shift in interest from economic growth to defence among the ASEAN states. In expressing India's second phase, Foreign Minister Vajpayee said that:

The first phase of India LEP was ASEAN-centered (op cit) and focused primarily on trade and investment linkages. The new phase of this policy is has expanded the definition of the characteristics of the East, from Australia to East Asia, with ASEAN as its core. The new phase also marks a shift from trade to economic issues and the wider security, including joint efforts to protect shipping routes and coordinate efforts to combat terrorism and joint military exercises with India. This is an expansion from the first launch by India in the 1990s to a more mature relation today. (quoted in Sinha 2003).

This new trajectory benefited India in many and various aspects and at several levels of cooperation. India began with the initial platform used to engage with the SEA countries, which is the ASEAN forum. It then gradually grew by participating in the ARF dialogues, which specifically focused on security matters of the region. These included the safety and security of the IOR. Once India's established its position on a multilateral level, its then shifted its policy in building bilateral relationships with the region, involving the Ministers of External Affairs and Defence as well as high level defence exchanges. These exchanges involved naval and other services, including the air force and army, visits and exercises.

At this crucial juncture, the excellence of the navy was increasingly recognised as having the status of aregional power status by both India and the members of ASEAN (Gordon 1993: 55). ASEAN's acceptance of India's naval engagement in the region was boosted in 2004. It was during this year that India ordered its navy to coordinate its tsunami relief operations in the IOR, gaining international recognition.

India's positive engagements with the countries of the SEA region give it recognition as a responsible emerging power in the IOR. At the same time, India also ensured that its position as a benign power was sustained. Accordingly, India shaped its maritime policies such that they catered to its interest in the region as well as the requirement for a stronger partnership with the SEA countries. At this point, the Malaysia-India relationship reached a mature stage whereby it covers all aspects of international relations; historical bond, economic, political and those aspects concerning security.

As a result, at the beginning of the 21st century, SEA was viewed as a bridge of economic connectedness and a source of economic safekeeping and military power between India and the ASEAN countries. This specifically built the connectedness of the navy between the two regions. This was also well articulated by C. Raja Mohan. He mentioned the potential of the universal character of navy roles at sea for ensuring a positive state interaction in the case of India–SEA. He argues that:

While the logic of rebalancing has begun to create a new basis for the participation of East Asia, it noted that the Indian Navy's future chances in New Delhi, in the Pacific. Through a series of maritime attacks in the first decade of this century the Indian Navy has made it clear that he has made it clear that the separation of different theatres was entirely an intellectual exercise. [The] [n]avy, after all, had no problem realising that the sea is closely linked and their separation is largely apolitical and not just the construction of geographers (Mohan 2012: 96).

This leverage was well understood by India. All this was made possible by India's intuitively developed diplomacy with ASEAN. This is because in the 21st century, the high seas are a vital area of focus for most countries in the IOR. Further, India's emerging maritime role in the IOR has been frequently debated, and its engagement with the littoral states of the IOR is often discussed. Thus, India's maritime vision and engagement with SEA, as an emerging regional power, requires further understanding.

More recently, India's Act East Policy under leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi has triggered not only an active action-oriented engagement of India with SEA region but necessitated greater understanding of vital areas of cooperation (Palit 2016: 18). Indian PM Modi's quick visits to SEA countries in his first year government signify India's greater aspiration and stronger commitment to work with SEA nations especially over issues of maritime security in EIOR. As part of this recent AEP, the Indian foreign office is reiterating its focus to enhance regional security cooperation in various traditional and non-traditional areas of cooperation with SEA nations. India being the oceanic neighbour understands well that maritime security issues are key component of any cooperation initiatives with SEA states in EIOR.

Both LEP and AEP by India represent an opportunity for Malaysia to capitalise on the existence of India's desire to work with SEA nations for mutual gains. Yet within context of maritime security cooperation in EIOR, it is vital to identify the key

security issues common to both Malaysia and India in EIOR that may become the basis of maritime cooperation. This is because in the 21st century the high seas are a vital area of focus for most countries in the IOR. Further, India's emerging maritime role in IOR has been frequently debated, and its engagement with the littoral states of IOR is often discussed. Thus, India's maritime vision and engagement towards SEA, as an emerging regional power, requires further understanding.

2.42 India–Southeast Asia Maritime Security Cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region

This section describes the second phase of India's LEP, focusing on Indian–SEA maritime security cooperation in the IOR. Prior to the beginning of the 2000s, the focus on maritime security had been relatively minimal. Attention to maritime security was then increased due to several factors that took place in the maritime domain: a) safety and security of SLOCs, b) the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, c) the rising piratical attacks in the IOR and 4) rising natural disasters in the IOR.

These scenarios led to India's second phase of LEP, with a major focus on developing its maritime relations with the major SEA countries that were also facing similar maritime challenges. This section discusses the major SEA countries that were associated with India in maritime engagement, mainly Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, Myanmar and the Philippines.

The initial maritime engagement with these countries started in 1991, when India regularly conducted joint naval exercises with Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia in the IOR. In 1992, India invited ASEAN to participate in a naval exercise, but these attempts were not successful because of the Cold War conspiracy. However, India continued commitment with SEA countries through bilateral engagement; in 1993, the armed forces of India and Singapore were involved in the Lion King series of naval exercises. In the same year, the Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) superseded the Lion King series and continued for 10 years until its replacement by SIMBEX in 2005. After winning an association that promoted SEA, in 1995 it raised the military's commitment to India through the MILAN naval exercises with the ASEAN countries. In the Bay of Bengal, a collective maritime security vision was envisaged for fostering cooperation in areas of common interest: safeguarding SLOCs from poaching, piracy and terrorist activities, and promoting interoperability in rescue missions.

In 1996, India's membership was accredited by ARF after several maritime operations under the banner of 'Friendship At Sea', with the participation of Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore. As India geared up for Phase Two of the LEP, Malaysia and Myanmar joined the MILAN exercise in 2003, then Vietnam and Brunei in 2008, and the Philippines in 2010. Singapore, at the eastern entrance of the SOM, and a transit portal for one-third of global sea commerce (Cole 2008: 43), expanded access to naval facilities in India from the Andaman Sea to the capital Southern Naval Command officials in Cochin (Singh 2011: 29). From 2005, India conducted several navy exercises with Singapore through the SIMBEX operation. During this period, the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) agreement was signed between India and Singapore to guide future exercises. This trend indicates the development of interest in both states on maritime security collaboration in Southeast Asian waters.

Other naval exercises also took place in the field of search and rescue (SAR) through INDOPURA SAREX, initialised in 1995, and transformed in 1997 into a multilateral maritime operation including Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. From 1998 onwards, many Indian ships visited Vietnam; this was enabled through the amicable relationship that had existed with Vietnam from the start of the Cold War. In 2000, Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes ratified a defence engagement with Vietnam, which involved periodical dialogues between the navies of both countries. As a result of this treaty, the coast guard was strengthened, and goodwill visits were made to Ho Chi Minh City in the years 2000, 2002 and 2003. Frequent friendship visits by India's naval ships in Hai Phong province enhanced the confidence of both countries. This was well reported in the government source cited in the *Deccan Chronicle*: 'the move will give India the key to a sustainable presence in the South China Sea' (Vo 2012: 21).

In addition, after 9/11, India's naval engagement with SEA states underwent a major transformation. All regions paid increasing attention to counter-terrorism pacts. India strengthened its maritime policy with the SEA states around the Andaman Sea by improving communications to combat extremist groups such as the Jihad and Aceh separatists. For example, in 2004 India formed a Joint Working Group (JWG) with Indonesia by means of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for combating international terrorism. During the first meeting, held in 2005 in New Delhi, both countries emphasised the need for more comprehensive maritime

security collaboration especially on the exchange of information and intelligence in curbing non-traditional threats such as piracy and terrorist attacks.

This was also the case with Thailand. Because both countries perceived the IOR as a vital area for maritime activities, taking into account the numbers of insurgents groups using the northeast of India to enter Thailand, both appreciated the mutual assistance that was offered for combating non-traditional issues especially terrorism. India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Abhisit Vejjajiva confirmed this in 2001. This collaboration also involved guarding the waters of SOM with other major powers in SEA such as Malaysia and Singapore.

In particular, the duration and frequency of patrolling in the region was reinforced. The 9/11 incidents also led to two important forms of cooperation: a) the ASEAN–India Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism, established in 2003, and b) the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP), established in 2004.

The same year, the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) also expressed humanitarian concern for SEA regions, by undertaking the biggest peacetime operation in the form of humanitarian assistance involving the peoples of Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia in the aftermath of the December tsunami. Similarly, in 2014, India was one of the first countries to respond to the MH370 crisis. These timely responses to humanitarian crises boosted India's image as a positive maritime nation in the region.

With the continued support of Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia, India established a Far Eastern Naval Command (FENC) in 2005 at the Andaman Islands. This new base contributed further engagement on maritime issues more effectively in the IOR. For instance, in 2005, effective coordination was evident in curtailing transnational crime such as terrorism, piracy and smuggling, and to secure vital SLOCs in the IOR. As a result, the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Thai Navy signed an MOU on Coordinated Patrol Procedures in the Areas Adjacent to the International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL) and Establishment of Lines of Communication. This MOU was expected to provide better collaboration in terms of coast guard patrolling and other joint collaboration.

In 2006, with the establishment of the FENC, a higher stage of maritime cooperation was witnessed between SEA-India. Typical emphasis has been placed on maritime safety cooperation measures to combat pirates in the Andaman Sea and

SOM with countries in the coastal marine area. For example, India's first coordinated naval patrol was conducted with Indonesia at Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 2006. Just as Thailand coordinated with India on transnational crime, Indonesia also sought India's assistance on these issues, especially terrorism and piracy. In addition, since then, the Indi-Indo Co-ordinated Patrols (CORPAT) has been conducted twice a year wherein ships from the two navies undertake coordinated patrols of the IML. This collaboration was expected to provide better coordination in terms of radar and communication systems used during patrolling at the SEA waters. Both the RIN and the Royal Thai Navy have conducted similar counter-piracy projects in the SOM. All these are the integral components of India's maritime policy to the east (Sikri 2009: 253).

Map 2: The Far Eastern Naval Command in the Indian Ocean Region



Source: United Nations

India's maritime relationship with Myanmar formed a slightly different scenario. India's engagements during the 2004 tsunami for example portrayed durable competition vis-à-vis China in order to ensure a strong presence in Myanmar. Geographically located in the northern half of the Bay of Bengal, Myanmar contributes importantly to many Indian maritime security concerns. But the issues that have been a concern for India when engaging with Myanmar have been similar with respect to their SEA views on other countries in the region, such as the issue of piracy, terrorism, arms smuggling, drug trafficking and distribution. Other issues include the Golden Crescent, comprising Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the golden

triangle formed by Myanmar, Thailand and Laos. In terms, of the safety of SLOCs, the sea route between Kolkata and Sittwe is a major concern.

In 2004, India conducted naval exercises with Myanmar, which sent two warships Khukri class. In 2006, India announced the transfer of two BN-2 ‘Defender’ Islander maritime surveillance aircrafts and deck-based air defence guns to the Myanmar Navy (Sahkuja 2012: 3). In the same year, India’s INS *Ranjit* and INS *Kuthar* joined Myanmar for joint naval exercises. Many more warship visits took place between two countries, marking the first visit by a foreign country to Myanmar. In addition, the port of Sittwe has been controlled by India, and the Indian government concluded an agreement to change Myanmar’s Dawei Port into an Indian deep-sea port. India’s several visits to Myanmar further led to procurement purchases from India and talks on establishing a naval aviation training centre in Myanmar.

Table 1: List of India–Southeast Asia Defence Agreements (1993–2015)

NO.	YEAR	COUNTRIES	ACTIVITIES
1	2003	India–Singapore	Defence Cooperation Agreement and Bilateral Agreement for the Conduct of Joint Military Training and Exercises in India for 5 years
	2007 & 2009		Bilateral Agreement to utilise facilities in India by the Singapore Air Force and Army
	2014		Agreement to extend the use of training and exercises facilities in India by Singapore Army
2	2001	India–Indonesia	Defence Agreement comprises high level visits, ship visits and officers studying in staff college
	2014		1 st Ministerial level biennial defence dialogue
3	2003	India–Thailand	Joint Working Group on Security (upgraded to include defence exchange)
	2011		India–Thailand Defence Dialogue
	2012		Bilateral Memorandum of Understanding on defence cooperation
	2014		Defence ministers visit, and ADMM Plus
4	2013	India–Myanmar	High-level visit by Defence Minister
	2014		High-level visit by Chief of Air Staff
5	2009	India–Vietnam	Defence Cooperation comprising coordinated patrols by Vietnamese sea police and the Indian coast guard, and training Vietnam air force pilots
6	2006	India–Philippines	Philippines–India Agreement Concerning Defence Cooperation
	2012		Joint Defence Cooperation Committee
7	2005	India–Cambodia	Agreement on Combating International Terrorism Organised Crimes and Illicit Drug Trafficking
8	2011	India–Laos	Indian military delegation to Laos, and setting up an Air Force Academy

Table 2: List of India–Southeast Asia Maritime Exercises (1993–2015)

NO.	YEAR	COUNTRIES	ACTIVITIES
1	1993-2004	India & Singapore	Anti-Submarine Warfare Exercises
2	1995, 1997 & 1999	India, Singapore, Thailand & Indonesia	MILAN
	2003 & 2006	<i>Malaysia</i> & Myanmar joined	MILAN
	2008	Brunei & Vietnam joined	MILAN
	2010	Philippines joined	MILAN
	2012	India, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, <i>Malaysia</i> , Myanmar, Brunei, & Philippines	MILAN
	2014	India, Singapore Thailand, Indonesia, <i>Malaysia</i> , Myanmar & Philippines	MILAN
3	1998	India, Singapore & Indonesia	MADAD 1998 SAR Exercises
4	1998 & 2009	India & Philippines	Passage Exercise (PASSEX)
	2002	India & Thailand	PASSEX
		India & Singapore	PASSEX
		India & Indonesia	PASSEX
5	2002–2014	India & Indonesia	Indo-Indonesia Coordinated Patrol (IND INDO CORPAT)
6	2005–2014	India & Thailand	Indo-Thai Coordinated Patrol (INDO-THAI CORPAT)
7	2004	India, Singapore & Indonesia	2 nd Western Pacific Mine Counter Measures Exercises (MCMX) & Diving Exercises (DIVEX)
8	2005–2015	India & Singapore	SIMBEX
9	2002	India, Singapore, <i>Malaysia</i>	2 nd Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) Sea Exercises
10	2008	India & Singapore	Maritime Patrol Aircraft Exercises
11	2011	India & Indonesia	National Disaster Relief Force participated in the Table Top Exercise (TTX) & Field Training Exercise (FTX) of the Disaster Relief Exercise (DIREX) in Indonesia

2.43 *Malaysia–India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region*

In 1993, India signed a defence cooperation agreement with Malaysia. This was the first time that India had signed a treaty with a country outside the region. The Malaysia–India Defence Cooperation Meeting (MIDCOM), which was established under this framework, marked an important maritime development compared to the relations between other SEA countries in the region. Malaysia–India maritime interactions were more in terms of multilateral maritime cooperation, such as the MILAN, INDOPURA and SAREX naval exercises. In recent years, India revamped its cooperation with Malaysia, in response to the increasing number of pirate attacks in the SOM. For instance, between 2008 and 2010, vessels from both navies carrying live ammunition conducted anti-piracy exercises in the SOM, showing their common interest in maintaining a secure vital Strait (*The Times of India* 2008). Similarly, naval exercises were conducted with Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) on the high seas.

In 2010, the two countries established a framework for a Strategic Partnership between India and Malaysia. The move is seen as a mature partnership, which is protected in all areas necessary for a broader maritime cooperation. This includes an exchange between defense ministers and military officials, together with cooperation in defense projects, and cooperation in combating terrorism by exchanging information. In 2011, Indian naval ships and the coast guard visited Malaysia, and in 2012 a number of port calls were made between these countries.

In addition, both countries sent naval ships and delegations to the biannual Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace Exhibition (LIMA), MILAN regional events, and the Land, Naval and Internal Homeland Security Systems Exhibition (DEFEXPO), conducted by India. India also took part in the mechanism of cooperation in the Straits of Malacca and Singapore, and contributed to two of the six projects, the International Maritime Organization (IMO) (Project 1 and Project 4) to improve the safety of navigation and environmental protection in the SOM. India also signed the annual MIDCOM, and conducts regular visits to Malaysian ports for capacity building and patrolling pirate-infested areas at sea for drug-trafficking, human trafficking, and maritime terrorism (Mohan 2012: 99).

India has made strong attempts at engagement with Malaysia: naval visits,

dialogues, capacity building, coordinated patrolling to face the increasing maritime challenges, especially transnational challenges such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, piracy and terrorism. However, although this is the case, cooperation remains insufficient. Both Malaysia and India have different forms of potential that can be utilised for the advantage of both countries.

Both countries have explored the possibilities for upgrading several forms of defence collaboration, such as training pilots, and exchange of air force personnel for maintaining and repairing equipment (Mohan 2012: 101). For example, in the past India offered training to Malaysia's Air Force pilots on MIG-29s, and offered training on the SUKHOI and the SCORPENE. There was also some discussion on selling BRAHMOS missiles to Malaysia (Mohan 2012: 102). Nevertheless, several of these bilateral arrangements on training and exercises at sea are still in the air, not enshrined in official agreements. Strategic partnership is often used as a benchmark for analysing the intensity of state interactions in IR. In this case, India–Malaysia relations can be categorised as a *missed opportunity* (Singh 2011: 87).

Malaysia is partly responsible for the ambiguity in the relationship, as it has always perceived that India would expand naval boundaries in the IOR. The fear of small states such as Malaysia of falling under the shadows of big powers like India is the major downfall. This impression was well expressed by Malaysian Defence Minister Ahmad Rithauddeen. In 1986, he said:

India needs to show neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and other SEA countries that it has no ambition to interfere in regional affairs. We want to see India's assurance that it will not use force against neighbouring countries and aimed that New Delhi would not go to the point of doubling of military force outside the Indian Ocean or try to control the entrance to the Strait of Malacca (Mak 2001: 154).

The lack of possibility for a wiser development between Malaysia-India is also due to Malaysia's egalitarian approach forcing India to look for ASEAN countries to assist other maritime action plans in the region. For example, Malaysia has refused to recognise the link between piracy and terrorism. Avoiding considering Malaysia as a centre of terrorism in the SEA region creates difficulty in establishing security cooperation with India. In an effort to counter threats of terrorism, Malaysia has joined the USA to stand against terrorism and smuggling, but there is reluctance to acknowledge the link between pirates and terrorists.

Nevertheless, Malaysia appreciates India's maritime partnership. For Malaysia, avoiding domination by China is the sole solution to its predicament. The defeat of South Vietnam was among several disturbing developments of the mid-1970s. During that period, China asserted claims in the SCS, and its dominance naturally caused anxiety for Malaysia, mainly because Malaysia began to lose control over the strategically important Spratly Islands, situated within the waters of Chinese neighbouring states (Vietnam, the Philippines, and Cambodia). The aggressive Chinese move to capture the Mischief Reef from the Philippines in 1995 (Meyer 1996:1) was a further warning for Malaysia about another superpower in the region. Malaysia's intention to face China led to its utilising India as a good counter-weight against China's naval expansion in the region. Both Malaysia and India view China as key competitor, and both are ready to outstrip each other to obstruct China's dominance in the region.

Further, Malaysia's intention to move closer to India would neutralise Singapore's advantageous position in the Bay of Bengal and SOM. This intention became clear when the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN), which had been operating in the Woodlands since 1949, shifted to Lumut in 1997 to monitor the Bay of Bengal. Such powerful competition pushed Malaysia to accept any offer from India to balance Singapore's maritime power in the region.

In sum, strong maritime engagement is equally important for both Malaysia and India in EIOR. This is manifested in their engagement in SEA for an enduring maritime project to improve the response to security threats, whether traditional or non-traditional, and also to restore the balance of power in the EIOR. Both states acknowledge the improvement in the volume of maritime cooperation, an effective policy prescription for achieving a mutually beneficial goal.

However, despite an apparently strong intention for maritime cooperation, the level of cooperation between these two entities remains surprisingly low. The stumbling blocks of this relationship have been little explored in academic enquiries, and the evidence available lacks in substance required for a comprehensive understanding. The existing literature suggests that the engagement between Malaysia and India within the EIOR is minimal. Although both states describe their relationship as 'traditional partners' under this banner, the relationship between the two countries in terms of maritime security cooperation still remains unclear.

Looking at the LEP from a routine policy perspective does not do justice to its

significance in encouraging MIMSC in the EIOR. Yet the shift to a more action-oriented Act East Policy by India under Modi's government coupled with changing security challenges in the IOR (Bhattacharjee (2016)) has brought forward newer dynamics to MIMSC. The AEP has signalled India's ambitions to a more action oriented engagement with SEA nations (Mukherjee & Malone 2011). It has been emphasized that the enhanced economic and trade relations among SEA-India across EIOR requires maritime security cooperation as a vital component of the Act East Policy (Limaye 2016). For this reason, this study seeks to look into the dynamics of AEP in order to understand the MIMSC in EIOR under the administration of Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Securitization of key issues in EIOR through this study would enable a more specific dialogue in line with the spirit of AEP. The missed opportunities discussed above are examined in order to necessitate further understanding of the changing paradigm shift in MIMSC in EIOR under the banner of LEP and AEP together.

Table 3: List of Malaysia-India Defence Cooperation and Naval Activities (1993-2016)

NO	YEAR	ACTIVITIES
1	1993	MIDCOM
2	2002	2 nd WPNS sea exercises
3	From 2002	Regular goodwill visits between Malaysia and India
4	2003, 2012 & 2014	Malaysia joined the MILAN exercise with India
5	From 2008	Indian Air Force (IAF) Air Training Team trained Malaysia pilots on SU-30KMM aircraft
6	2012	1. India's Chief of Air Staff visited Malaysia 2. Malaysia's Chiefs of Arms and Navy visited India
7	Annually	Indian participation in LIMA
8	2012	JWG on Counter-Terrorism
9	From 2011	India's naval ship made regular port calls
10	2012	3 rd Army Talks
11	2012	5 th Air Staff Talks
12	2013	5 th Navy Staff Talks

2.5 Part Two: Methodology

This section describes the research and the methods employed in writing this thesis. First, it describes the research design and the reasons underlying the current study

design. Second, it describes the use of phenomenology as the strategy of inquiry for this study in line with a qualitative research design. Third, it discusses the data collection methods, namely in-depth personal interviews and focus group discussions, along with the protocols employed to carry them out in this study. Fourth, it describes the data analysis strategy, Thematic Content Analysis (TCA).

2.6 Research Design

In this thesis, a qualitative research design has been employed, due to its exploratory nature, and this has determined the qualitative methods and processes of research to probe into the antecedents and outcomes of MIMSC in EIOR. It is said that qualitative research methods produce different lenses to explore social reality – lenses that make society and phenomena understandable (Alasuutari 2010: 39-155). The major focus of this thesis is to study one specific emerging phenomenon: that is, MIMSC in EIOR. Given the existence of varied perspectives on the issues of MIMSC, qualitative methods helped to find specific answers to the research question and objective of this thesis. The very nature of qualitative research seeks deep understanding and answers to questions that begin with why, how and how questions (Strauss and Corbin 1990), guiding the thesis to identify the specific areas of this research study that are the drivers of MIMSC in EIOR, the emerging areas of collaboration, and the critical success factors of MIMSC in EIOR.

2.7 Strategy of the Inquiry

This thesis made use of a phenomenological design in addressing the research question. This is because the nature of phenomenological research is to acknowledge that there are gaps in the research study. Phenomenological research begins by examining research in the field of maritime studies, and examines the participants' experiences relating to the phenomenon under study. It involves extensive and in-depth study of a small group of participants' experiences of the phenomenon in order to develop themes of meaning in their relationships (Moustakas 1994).

In this study, the researcher analysed the viewpoints of academic scholars and think tanks in the field of maritime studies in order to formulate the research question and objective. A phenomenon that is not described or explained openly does not necessarily provide a definitive explanation, but it does raise awareness and increase understanding (Groenewald 2004). This awareness triggers further examination, and

consequently shapes the central question of the thesis. A phenomenological strategy of inquiry can be witnessed throughout this thesis while studying the debate amongst participants on MIMSC in EIOR. The use of phenomenology enabled and guided the researcher to focus on the specific questions on MIMSC in EIOR, which are understudied, and which therefore require further interrogation.

2.8 Data Collection Methods

The research study used two primary data collection methods to examine in depth the complex phenomenon of the inter-state relations between Malaysia and India. These methods included in-depth personal interviews and focus groups discussions (Gubrium and Holstein 2002).

The criteria for selecting informants were based on purposive sampling, because the purpose of the interview determines who is interviewed. More accurate findings would emerge from the insights and experiences of those involved in policy making in both countries. Hence, this study was aimed at top-ranking officials who had been involved, directly and indirectly, in the policy-making process relating to diplomatic and defence cooperation between Malaysia and India. The knowledge and expertise of these informants made this study more relevant to the actual events, and provided more coherent meaning in relation to the issue at hand.

The informants were chosen based upon their expertise, their willingness and their ability to transmit information accurately (Steward and Cash 2003). The key informants of in-depth personal interviews and focus groups were from the navy, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, armed forces and maritime security agencies, ex-navy and think tanks in Malaysia and India. Of course, the availability and willingness of the informants to participate in the interview sessions limited the number and composition of respondents.

In line with the qualitative mode of inquiry, the use of these two methods has served to provide data triangulation, i.e. confirmatory support for the themes appearing from each of these. While the in-depth personal interview is a qualitative exploratory research method and is capable of providing deeper understanding of *why* and *how*, it has been triangulated by another method, that is the focus group, which has greatly helped provide more in-depth research findings in answer to the questions *what* and *why* (Berg and Lune 2004). In order to improve the effective reporting of information from personal interviews and focus groups further, this

study has followed the 32-item checklist proposed by Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ) (Tong, Sainsbury and Craig 2007: 349–357) given in Appendix D.

2.81 In-depth Personal Interviews

An in-depth personal interview is a qualitative data collection method that allows deep probing into informants' experiences of the phenomenon under study. This study utilised interviews as a source of primary data collection, specifically one particular form of interrogation method, to provide sufficient information for this research. During interviews, the questioning was carried out in a systematic manner and a consistent order (Muthiah nd: 22). The open-ended nature of the questions provided opportunities, freedom and flexibility for the informants to discuss the topic in detail, often leading to more than one answer to a question. The informants went into the interview process to discuss a limited number of themes and frames, but found that in the event they required more thought than previously envisaged, and produced more than one answer. Each on-going question was asked on the basis of the informants' previous response (Hancock 1998: 10). A set of questions was prepared prior to the interview session.

Open-ended interviews tend to probe into the experiences of informants in relation to the phenomenon under study, and into the meanings they attach to it. The researcher's job is to encourage informants to talk openly about the issue related to the research question by asking open-ended questions. In this study, four individual interviews were conducted with Malaysians and three were conducted with Indians.

2.82 Focus Group Interviews

The second form of data collection in this thesis was focus group discussions. Focus group techniques for data collection seek to facilitate group discussion and let participants explore individual and shared perspectives relating to the issue in question (Morgan 1997). These involved 12 informants who were knowledgeable about the issue in question. The researcher in this study played the role of facilitator. As with the in-depth personal interviews, the researcher asked open-ended questions related to the research questions in order to stimulate discussion among the participants. The facilitator encouraged the participants to answer the questions individually, but at the same time to interact with each other as well (Krueger and

Casey 2002: 4–23).

The use of focus group discussions has increased among researchers in recent years in social science research for several reasons. In this study, the choice of focus group discussions was driven by three major factors. First, as mentioned above, group discussion was perceived to stimulate a more interactive session. Second, the study made use of this data collection tool to save the time, cost and energy typically required for personal interviews. Third, focus group interviews were conducted when the participants hesitated to give personal interviews and felt more comfortable in a group setting. In this study, three focus groups were conducted with Malaysians and two focus groups with Indians.

2.83 In-depth Personal Interview and Focus Group Protocols/Procedures

Once the informants had been identified, the potential benefits and risks, place, date and time of the interview and confidentiality issues, were presented to the informants (Appendix A). They were also provided with a consent form to indicate their understanding of the research topic, the information needed and their approval of participation (Appendix B), a participant agreement form (Appendix C) and the questionnaire itself (Appendix E). Once this process had been completed, the arrangements for interviews were made based on their availability; office hours were chosen for the informants who were still serving as officers.

For focus group interviews, a letter was distributed to each participant prior to commencing the interview about the general background of the other informants, in order to help informants become comfortable with each other. This was also to ensure that each informant would be aware of the complete arrangements and the interview protocol. If any informant did not agree to be interviewed in the presence of any other member of the focus group, the interview groups would be reshuffled.

During the data collection period, checklists were given to the informants to ensure that they were aware of the questions, minimising any waste of time. For the focus group discussions, a checklist ensured that each informant had the same set of questions and was fully aware of the whole process of the interview. This increased the amplitude of the data and made the data collection technique more systematic (Steward and Cash 2003: 22). The informants had the right to withdraw at any time, but because the demands of this study did not pose any serious risk to informants, they all cooperated, confirming their participation before the interview session and

avoiding interruptions during the interview process. In terms of confidentiality, the informants were allowed to be anonymous or to provide a fictitious name. This was deemed very necessary and in some cases requested by them due to their professional position, when they felt their information might be problematic for readers or a particular individual.

All the interviews were conducted between September 2014 and April 2015. Given the sensitivity of the information, mainly from the military, and defence and foreign offices, the researcher strictly maintained the anonymity of informants. Voice recordings were not allowed in any of the interviews, in either Malaysia or India, due to the sensitivity of information, and so a research diary was used throughout to record all personal and group interviews. After each interview, all information was stored in a Microsoft Word file, with a researcher memo describing the contextual information of the interview and some personal notes. The interview data was transcribed with respect to the research questions and interview questions, bearing in mind the required compatibility with NVIVO 10.

Other written information was stored in files as appropriate. If any of the participants wished to withdraw or modify certain information, they would have complete freedom to do so, even if the thesis had been in the final stage of the data analysis process. After the study was completed, all the records of the interviews, transcripts of interviews, and written notes and memos were coded.

2.84 Data Management and Analysis

There are several ways to manage and store data. In this study, data was preserved both physically and electronically. Physically, where appropriate, field notes and handwritten transcripts of the interview were placed in a drawer/cabinet in the researcher's home, and therefore were only accessible to the researcher. Electronically, the program NVIVO 10 was used as the primary data storage system in this study, because it has the ability to store both secondary and primary data systematically. Qualitative interviews can be information-intensive and/or extensive (Bazeley 2007: 2), and this requires a solid system of data storage. NVIVO 10 has the ability to store all the information in the case of interview transcripts, field notes or tape recordings manually - and at the same time could quickly trace back to keywords or topics. In NVivo 10, a separate folder was created by topic or theme. Secondary data, such as electronic journals, books, etc. and documents were stored accordingly.

The program also helped to organise references systematically.

In analysing the primary data, the interview data sheets were separated into four major folders: 'Individual Interview Malaysia', 'Individual Interview India', 'Group Interview Malaysia' and 'Group Interview India'. An example of an individual interview label would be 'Malaysia Individual (MI 1) – (Name), Malaysia Maritime Enforcement Agency, 1 June 2013'; and of a group interview, 'India Group (IG 1) – (Names), The United Services Institution of India, 1 June 2013'.

2.85 *Content Analysis*

In all research, the first step is to shape the central questions that address the research inquiry. For this project, Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was a good starting point. At this stage, the content analysis methods were descriptive, identifying similarities and differences in the literature and developing a common understanding of existing knowledge. It also identified the strengths and weaknesses of the main arguments in the literature in the selected area of science. In short, content analysis provided knowledge and understanding of the phenomena being studied (Sivabala Naidu nd: 102).

This research study made use of TCA as a method of analysing qualitative data and the insights derived from interviews and focus group discussions (Krippendorff 2012.). TCA is a descriptive presentation of themes or patterns of social reality emerging from the qualitative data. Qualitative data may take the form of interview transcripts collected from research informants or other identified texts that reflect experientially on the topic of study. While videos, images, and other forms of data may accompany textual data, this description of TCA is limited to textual data (Anderson 2007).

Content analysis begins with the research objectives and questions to be studied. Researchers ask the question "What do you want to know from the content of communication?" framing part of the research objectives. The researcher found the source of the communication related to the research questions by content analysis (Prasad 2008: 173-193). This means that content analysis describes the characteristics of data content in terms of what, how and for whom. Inferences are made about the causes of content, and provide the answers to *why* and *who* questions (Berelson 1952). Finally, inferences are made about the effects of the content. As a result, a phenomenon that needs further research has been identified, and these form

the central argument of the thesis.

In this research, the content analysis method was used to build the central question. Selections of documents such as books, journals, working papers, conference papers, political speeches and press releases in both English and Malay were reviewed in order to help understand the major arguments and debates on MIMSC in EIOR. A literature review based on prior research, using key words and phrases such as ‘Indian foreign policy’, ‘defence policies’, ‘maritime’ or ‘naval strategy’, ‘Malaysia–India’, ‘ASEAN–Indian maritime cooperation’, was carried out to reduce the key issues.

Computerised data analyses were then conducted. NVIVO 10 allows creative and systematic management of ideas that emerge from data. In addition, NVIVO 10 can build graphical models that will help create a sound relationship between ideas and important features, often called the ‘major findings’.

The primary resources obtained were imported into NVIVO 10, and coding methods were adopted to create clustering units of meaning to summarise the data. In this research, three major types of coding were conducted in analysing interview transcripts. The first was open coding, whereby each transcript was exported into NVIVO 10 and each sentence was read manually, so that coding could be done. Second was axial coding, whereby the open nodes created earlier were referred back to the research questions and the numbers of nodes refined. At this stage, the researcher was able to see if the nodes were answering the research questions built at the earlier stage of the research.

The third type is selective coding; the axial coding was read again, and the nodes were refined further. At this stage, the researcher was able to describe the major themes of each discussion chapter (4, 5, 6 and 7). These three stages were separated into Malaysian and Indian data. Finally a combined selective coding was carried out for both Malaysian and Indian data, to enable the provision of a larger picture of the themes being developed. Finally, models were created in NVIVO 10, which were then presented in the discussion chapters to illustrate each research question. The next chapter discusses the historical background of MIMSC in EIOR.

CHAPTER 3

MALAYSIA–INDIA MARITIME NEXUS: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to shed some light on the maritime relationship between Malaysia and India from the pre-colonial period until the end of the Cold War. It is stressed here that this chapter does not intend to describe the maritime events between the two nations in chronological order, but instead analyses those events in order to highlight the strong maritime bond between Malaysia and India. A preliminary understanding of this phenomenon is essential, in order to provide a better perspective of the current Malaysia MIMSC in the EIOR.

The aforementioned objective will be achieved by exploring three major timeframes: first, the pre-colonial period, the early kingdoms of India (10th century CE to the 15th century); second, the imperial era, of Portuguese, Dutch, and English occupation (15th century to the 19th century); and third the Cold War (1947–1990).

3.2 India to Meet Malaya

The IOR has experienced human interaction for many millennia, developing an interactive high-seas trade between many different regions even before the arrival of European powers. The maritime interactions between SEA and the Indian subcontinent represent a large component of the entire volume of maritime interception in the IOR. These specific interactions co-existed from the beginning of the first millennium CE, continuing steadily to the present day, and surviving European intervention from the 15th to the 19th centuries. Historian G. Coedes called SEA the ‘Indianized states’, and others such as C. Majumdar and H. B. Sarkar called SEA the Greater India or Further India (Prakash and Lombard 1999: 163-164). Both regions were linked by strong maritime bonds, making it necessary to study MIMSC from a historical perspective as the introductory debate of the thesis.

In the study of IR, it is the motivation for two states to connect that often forms the fundamental approach to drawing a wider perspective of state relations. In understanding the earlier stages of MIMSC, it is difficult to explain the urge of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent to sail across one of the largest and roughest

ocean demographics in the world. Travelling in small ships, with limited seafaring equipment and technology, to reach SEA waters and thrive, influencing the local culture as well as the political and economic structure of Malay is a challenge.

It is argued that for a full thirty centuries, India stood at the very heart of the Old World, and maintained her position as one of the foremost maritime countries (Mookerji 1962: 3). India's traditionally strong maritime presence in the Malay world explains the hold of MIMSC in EIOR. The *Rigveda* and *Mahabharata* are perhaps the best reference points, but the *Ramayana* mentions Indian and Malayan long-distance voyages, with specific references to *Yaradvipa* (the island of Java) and *Suvarnadripa* (Sumatra and the Malay peninsula) (Sikri 2014: 7). Other sources include the *Kathasaritsagara* (or *Ocean of the Streams of Stories*), which has a clear reference to Indian long-distance interaction by sea, including a specific mention of trade and commerce with *Suvarnadvipa*, the Malay peninsula (Sikri 2014: 9).

Since the time of Raja Chola in the 11th century CE, Malaysia has been on the receiving end of Indian sea voyages for trading purposes. But these trading activities soon led to local settlements at major trading ports, spreading the Indian culture, religion and language, leading to the diversity that Malaysia has today. India's long voyages can be observed well before the intervention of European powers in the EIOR. In 1025, one Tanjore inscription stated that during the early Kingdoms of India, Rajendrachola from southern India had organised a punitive naval raid on the empire of Srivijaya in Sumatra (Chaudari 1985: 37). This expedition was believed to have been a voyage that required great skills in shipbuilding and navigation, especially sailing through the 'black waters' of the Indian Ocean. The *Sammudda Vanija Jataka* described a ship with 1,000 carpenters built secretly for distant sailing, and the *Mahajanaka Jataka* recounted a specific voyage from Champa with goods for trade and export to *Suvarnabhumi* – Burma and the Golden Chersonese (Malaysia) (Sikri 2013: 10).

It is the same with shipping and seafaring knowledge. Before the arrival of the European powers, the Gujaratis were one of the most prominent communities in shipbuilding production, in places like Cambay, Surat, Goga, Broach and Diu, (a major seaport in Gujarat), hence the Gujarati claim to be pioneers in the Malaya trades, with the best quality ships.

Indian maritime seafaring knowledge contributed to the connectivity between both regions, but there has hitherto been little mention of the maritime seafaring of

Malaya, which also contributed to the connection between the two nations. The Malays demonstrated strong open-sailing maritime knowledge around the Malay Archipelago (that is, all the islands between South East Asia and Australia, regardless of which country they now belong to) as early as the first millennium BCE. They were highly skilled navigators, sailing over the oceans for thousands of miles without a compass or written charts (Shaffer 1996: 11). They independently invented a sail, made from woven mats reinforced with bamboo (Johnstone 1980: 191–192); and the typical Malay sailing boat was a *jongs*, which translates into English as ‘junk’.

Their familiarity with wind circulation led them to be the first to work out how to ride the monsoon winds throughout the year, thus carrying food to many different destinations in the world. A number of Malay ships reached Africa carrying *cocoyam*, bananas and coconuts (Watson 1983: 68). It is also likely that their routes to East Africa would have been via such island clusters as the Maldives, the Chagos, the Seychelles and the Comores. They also voyaged around the islands of the Malay Archipelago, including the Philippines, such that the Malay sailors were called ‘oceanic nomads’ (Taylor 1976: 30–31 & 45–47). These nomadic Malay sailors influenced many regions in the world, which indirectly merged with the Indian subcontinent, establishing friendship (Taylor 1976: 45–47).

A region surrounded by water, Malaya has its own history of sea defence. Prior to European intervention, its sea forces led by the *Orang Laut* (sea people) played a vital role in defending sea activities in Malaccan waters. Over time, with changes in technology and the arrival of advanced European naval forces, the sea forces of the Malay region were overshadowed, and soon declined in importance. Little work has been done on the roles and contributions of *Orang Laut*, though they were once known as the sea masters of the region. The role of the *Orang Laut* protecting the waters of SEA facilitated India’s peaceful maritime interactions with the region.

The *Orang Laut* were a group of Malay-speaking people, originating in the Riau Islands of Indonesia; they were also found in the coastal waters of Sabah and Sarawak as well as Johor. They are believed to be responsible for the rise of Malacca as a global entrepôt before the arrival of the Portuguese, playing a pivotal role in providing naval power in Malay waters resulting in the safety and security of the Malay Archipelago. Many people feared the *Bajak Laut*, the sea robbers that haunted the Straits of Singapore. Even the Chinese visitors to Malacca, who arrived in

strongly built junks carrying a large crew, were afraid of these Malayan privateers (Chaudari 1985: 153). The local ruler did not exactly acknowledge this aggressive behaviour at sea, but later offered a position for a naval fighter to safeguard the SOM. The local Malayan rulers utilised the *Orang Laut*'s seafaring and navigation knowledge to reduce piracy, which would otherwise damage the function of the port of Malacca as an international trade emporium. As they had been granted authority at sea, the *Orang Laut* helped the sultans to reduce piracy attacks. The tactical move to use the knowledge of the *Orang Laut* was the major contributory factor to the rise of Malacca which became the heart of global trade until the 15th century.

Another tribe, the *Bajau Laut*, originated from the east – from Kalimantan and north Sulawesi and part of eastern Sabah. Also known for piracy, they were belligerent to foreigners and were strongly defensive of the area they considered their own. Any foreign intrusion into that area would lead to conflict.

This sensitivity was utilised by the local rulers to ensure the safety of the SOM which operated as a crucial entrepôt between east and west, as the acknowledgement given to their communities and appointment to the naval forces led the *Orang Laut* to remain faithful to local rulers. For example, in the history of Malacca-Johor, it was understood that the Maharaja of Sirvijaya would need more than two years to circumnavigate his island, and the *Bajau Laut* assisted him. They had all the navigation skills, they were loyal, and 30 of them convoyed ships accompanying Parameswara to Malacca (Lapian. 2009: 104). He later became the ruler of Malacca, a pivotal point in its history. In Johor around 1688, Sultan Mahmud had a huge number of *Bajau Laut* as his followers. He was later replaced by *Raja Kecil*, who again was accompanied by the *Bajau Laut*. Their reputation as Malayan sea raiders endured as impressively as that of any group of naval fighters in the EIOR.

There were also some natural causes that encouraged maritime connectivity between Malaya and India. Geographical proximity is an important underlying factor for states to establish connections with other states. Distances from and within land, water boundaries and overlapping concourses all play an important role in determining the intensity of communications and the level of state interactions with one another. A state's foreign policy is often rationalised on these geographical factors, and Malayan–Indian maritime relations are a classic example of such considerations. While voyages from one end of the Asian continent to the other have occasionally been accomplished without calling into Indian ports, in historic times

India generally acted as a bridge between east and west (Arasaratnam1994: 1). Similarly, the Malaya peninsula acted as a crucial haven to many vessels sailing between the Middle and the Far East.

Both India and Malaya are situated in positions of great importance to the major SLOCs. Deep oceans can be challenging to sailors, so when eastbound sailors, having passed the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, approached Sumatran waters, the west coast of the Malaya peninsula was a haven where they could repair ships damaged by storms before continuing their voyage to the Far East and China. Places like Kedah, Penang, Perak, Malacca and Johor, strategically situated between the choke points of east and west, facilitated these needs, resulting in the establishment of maritime connections between these two regions. On the other hand, when ships from SEA sailed westwards, they tended to call into major ports like Nagapatnam, Porto Novo and Masulipatnam on the east coast of India, as well as Cambay, Calicut, Surat and Goa on India's west coast before continuing to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Malaysia-India's effective maritime communication in the EIOR occurred largely as a result of this longstanding factor.

Another factor that goes hand in hand with geographical conditions is the dynamics of the monsoon in the IOR. In the words of a climatologist, 'nowhere else on the globe is the annual reversal of wind and rainfall regimes as spectacular as in the realm of the Indian Ocean and surrounding land areas' (Arasaratnam1994: 1). The mariners of the east coast of India were aware of the monsoon winds and currents, and used them for maritime trade; hence the maritime trade from India to Southeast Asia was a seasonal phenomenon (Tripathi 2011: 1076). During the summer (May to September) the southwest monsoon blows in a north-easterly direction over southern India, crossing Sri Lanka into the Bay of Bengal and heading for the northern part of the Malay peninsula. In winter (November to March), the northwest monsoon blows in the opposite direction, from the northern part of the Malay peninsula south-westwards, towards the Arabian Sea. Voyages between east and west were dependent on these wind conditions, and ships naturally tended to stop at certain ports, such as Malacca on the Malay peninsula.

Eastbound Indian traders would thus cross the IOR, then stop on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Westbound Indian traders sailing from the East would stay in Malacca until January, and ships from China would stop at Malacca in November and stay until January before returning to China. This meant that many merchant

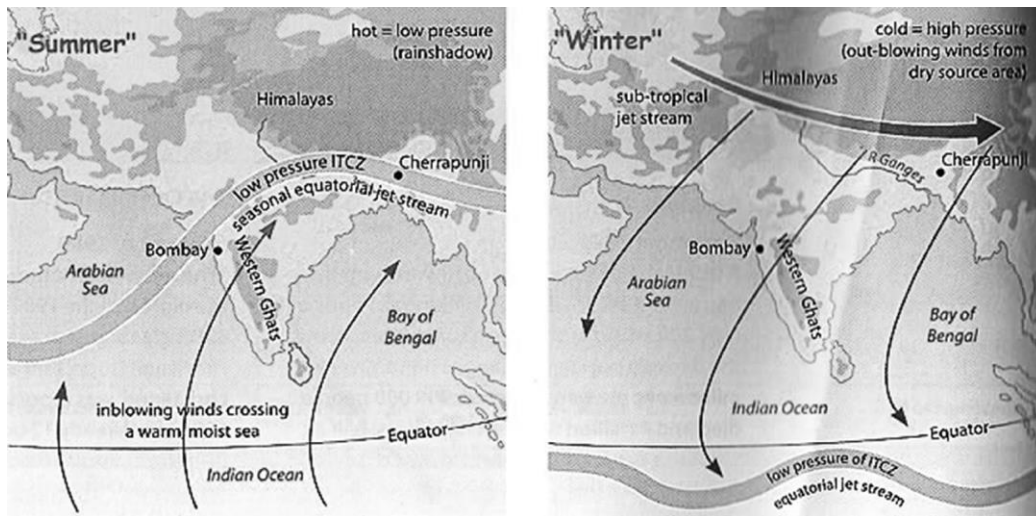
junks had to stay on that coast and so this location was used as a transit point, convenient for sailors and merchants to anchor their ships in a safe and tranquil harbour and to prepare them for continuing their voyages to India or across the South China Sea. It is worth stressing that wind conditions could be quoted as a factor fundamental to the beginning of the cross-cultural bonds between India and Malaya; ships from India would wait for several months in Malayan ports and this led them to build local settlements, soon turning into cosmopolitan centres and ports.

For example, during the late 18th century, vessels would make the journey from Madras to Penang, on the Malay coast, in eight days during the southwest monsoon (Tripathi 2011: 4). Such voyages led to the rise of Penang as a crucial trading port between Malaya and India during the imperial era. Similar manoeuvres led to the rise of Kedah, Perak and Johor. The various merchants from Coromandel, Malabar, Madras, Surat, Calicut, and Cambay at these local settlements communicated by means of a local *lingua franca* and also intermarried with the women of the local communities. This created new ethnic and cultural groups, adding more intriguing features to an already complex trading society (Hussin 2007: 5). Voyages that had started purely on the basis of trade soon grew into a stronger cross-cultural bond between Malaya and India.

Increasing trade contacts with other trading communities also fostered maritime links between the Indian subcontinent and the Malay peninsula. But India's civilisation had a wider influence as well – the cross-cultural links between India and China, both economically and culturally, formed a strong bond between the two nations. During the second century CE, these two civilisations conducted trade overland; a route connecting India and China wended its way through Assam, Upper Burma, and Yunan (Coedes 1968: 28–29).

Although these land routes were well used, traders perceived the road between India and China via the Tibetan plateau as difficult, and so they began to search for new trade routes. Water routes were not only cheaper but were also a form of transportation that was believed to be more safe and tranquil. This resulted in India venturing through water routes across the IOR towards the east, and its discovery of the SEA seas, the Straits of Sunda and SOM, the latter being a safe midway between the great civilisations of India and China.

Map 3: Summer and Winter Monsoon Wind Pattern



Source: geogonline.org.uk

The high demand for natural resources and luxury goods also explains the driving force for Indian traders to go to the Malay Archipelago. The Indians' obsession with gold arises from its being seen as a symbol of wealth. At an early stage, Indian merchants were obtaining gold from the Sumerians, the Persians, the Egyptians and the Roman Empire. However, as the supply of gold diminished in those places, India searched for alternative supplies and eventually saw the Malay world as the transcendent Land of Gold. The (probable) definition of Sumatra as *Suvarnavdipa*, the island of gold, was a magnet for many Indian merchants.

Map 4: Spice routes around the Indian Ocean Region



Source: www.silkroutes.net

In addition to gold, it was the abundance of spices in Malaya and Indonesia that attracted Indian merchants. India clustered its trading partners according to commodity cartels. For example, in the islands of SEA grows an abundance of spices such as cloves, cardamom and nutmeg. There are other islands, such as *Karpuradvipa* (probably Borneo), which produced camphor; *Takkola*, perhaps present-day Phuket on the north-west of the Malay peninsula, which produced cardamom (Sikri 2013: 4); *Narikeladvipa*, the island of coconut palms; and *Yavodvipa*, the island of barley, possibly near Java. The distinction between the regions based on the commodity cartels explains India's economic interest in the Malay world. But the Indian merchants were not the only ones interested in Malaya's luxury goods and spices; there were Chinese merchants as well, and traders from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the West. Hence India, whilst making contacts to obtain these commodities, acted at the same time as an intermediary between the eastern world and the western world for the purpose of such trades. These led to the Indian merchants dominating the trading links at the Malayan ports, and building strong maritime bonds between these entities.

3.3 India in the Early Malay World

Historian K. N. Chaudhuri argued there was a strong impression in the minds of contemporaries, sensed by later historians, that the ocean had its own unique and distinct sphere of influence (Chaudhuri 1985: 3). Malaya–India maritime relations also had their own sense of unity. Linking elements that snowballed from natural features such as climate and geographical proximity to movements of people with a curiosity to connect, and with economic interests, searches for power, religion and language, kindled this unity. In addition, maritime connectivity between the two states grew on a positive path, Malaysians perceiving India as the holy land of Hinduism and Buddhism, and Indians perceiving Malaya as the land of gold. In the long run, these positive feelings were another factor that led to the strong maritime bond between Malaya and India.

Maritime expeditions between Malaya and India had existed before the 15th century, and were a scene of successful trading activities. Around the 11th century, the Fatimids of Egypt concentrated on the maritime activities around the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The sailors of the concurrent Song dynasty of China were, naturally, seen around the eastern part of the SCS. Whilst these two empires rose as

regional maritime powers around the IOR, the Kingdom of Rajaraja Chola of southern India had been establishing maritime contacts around the SEA region from 985CE. In 1025, thirteen ports on the Malay peninsula, Sumatra and the Nicobar Islands, were raided by the South Indian navy under Rajendra Chola (Prakash and Lombard 1999: 19). The Chola supremacy in the lands of SEA is a notable story in the maritime history of the Indian Ocean, as even during those ancient times, the Cholas mounted an impressive naval expedition to SEA.

After establishing outlier ports on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts, Rajendara Chola, son of Rajaraja Chola, expanded his maritime powers by conquering Srivijaya in 1020, raiding Tamralinga, known as the Kingdom of Ligor, (now part of Thailand) and eventually dominating the SOM and Sunda Straits. The involvement of Chola in Srivijaya later facilitated their smooth naval intervention into Kadaram (present-day Kedah) in 1068. The Cholas were not, however, the only early power; the Kingdom of Pagan (in present-day Myanmar) was perceived as an equal competitor to the Chola Kingdom in the mid-11th century, and rose to be a glorious power by the 12th century. By that time, the Cholas' maritime expeditions were focusing on the southern part of India and were intervening in Ceylon and the Maldives.

Map 5: Raja Chola's Maritime Influence in Southeast Asia



Source: commons.wikimedia.org

It was certain that before the arrival of European powers, merchants of Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal sailed independently to the east to the Malay

peninsula, establishing themselves as the pioneer traders in the EIOR. These traders were Muslims and Hindus, coming to Indonesia in search of spices. During this time, the Gujarati traders alone reached the figure of 1000, accompanied by 4–5000 sailors (Chaudhuri 1985: 112). The people of Coromandel had a better knowledge of the IOR around the Malay–Indonesian islands than anyone else in the subcontinent (Chaudhuri 1985: 124).

In the search for Indonesian spices, Gujarati traders would usually sail through the Straits of Sunda, to the port of Grise in northern Java. Ships leaving Melaka bore a wide range of traders, including Arabs, Persians and Turks, and predominantly Mughals, calling at Kedah, Tenasserim, Pegu and Aceh. Another group of merchants consisted of Gujarati Bania and Muslims; around the 13th century, they were dominant in the export of cotton textiles, indigo and grain, commodities which they traded to the Malay Archipelago. Other items included cardamom, pepper, ginger and cinnamon from the Malabar Coast. The Gujarati merchants would then bring back spices from Sumatran islands such as cloves, nutmeg and mace, plus dyes and gums, with Port Pase and Pedie being the first ports of call (Arasaratnam 1994: 38). Commercial exchanges were made at Cambay and Calicut, and items were re-packaged and re-exported to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The Gujaratis had of course discovered the SOM very early on. It became a crucial link between the Indian maritime trading network and the eastern trading network. The SOM was a strategic port for the trade between India and China relating to Indonesian spices such as nutmeg and mace from the Banda islands and cloves from Amboina, Ceram and Moluccas, and grain from Java (Gupta 1994: 410). The SOM was a vital link between the Indian and eastern trading networks, providing a network for commercial exchanges with China, Sumatra and India up to Cambay. At the same time, SOM acted as a safe haven during the annual monsoon season.

The founding of Melaka in the SOM rapidly replaced the Sunda Straits (between Sumatra and Java) as the gateway into the Malay world. The co-existing pivotal role of the Gujaratis in the sphere soon became more powerful, with the establishment of Melaka as an entrepôt. The founding of Malacca by the Gujarati merchants elevated India's position in the SOM to the point of supremacy. As a result, in the 15th century Gujarati traders played a signal role in the expanding and ever more sophisticated and complex international trading network between the Far East, SEA,

the Islamic world and Europe. The SOM formed the central international trading emporium.

All the trading activities at the SOM – from commercial exchange to the re-packaging of a huge bulk of goods, ship-repair services and the re-export of commodities to other destinations – were conducted by Gujaratis, and indeed dominated by them. In addition to controlling the trading activities of the SOM, the Gujarati merchants protected the strait with an armed flotilla, to help the safe navigation of the many ships, as well as to protect the environment during trading activities. The similar port establishments at Calicut and Cambay on the Malabar Coast are evidence of strong Indian elements in their trading system with the Malay world; Calicut, Cambay and Malacca were designated to support long-distance trade covering the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and eastwards from Malacca (Arasaratnam 1994: 35-36).

As all three ports were believed to stimulate trading activities, and as Melaka was clearly the linchpin between the Indonesian, Indian and Muslim worlds – no less than 84 languages were spoken in this port – it was dominant like no other trading place of the IOR. The Chinese brought salt in exchange for Indian textiles and spices from Indonesia. Junks called in there for maintenance before continuing their voyages to India. These dynamics constitute an answer to Tom Pires' question as to how an obscure port without any natural resources could become in the 15th century the halfway house in the trade between China, Japan, and SEA and India (Arasaratnam 1994: 110).

By the end of the 15th century, as Malacca rose to become an established maritime port and major trading power was in the Gujarati community. Gujarati commercial interest was dominant in Malacca, with 1000 merchants domiciled in the port and a few thousand more people providing support in various marine and service activities (Arasaratnam 1994: 35-36). To intensify Gujarati supremacy in Malacca, the Gujaratis appointed a highly efficient administrator, Syahbandar, to manage trade business and other work such as law and order, the organisation of ships with various goods for different destinations, and the welfare of merchants, as well as the security and safety of the ports. There was also a custom judge who would assemble a panel of ten merchants, of which five were from Kalinganas (Southern India). Their roles were to value merchandise, manage the quality control of products and decide on the payments due. In addition, Gujarati merchants had

great influence in the internal politics of Malaya, where they could advise on political issues and trade policies. A contemporary Portuguese chronicler says that it was Gujarati merchants who persuaded Sultan Mohammad to attack the Portuguese fleet under Lopes do Sequeira in 1509, and when Alfonso Albuquerque attacked the port, he saw Gujarati vessels fighting the Portuguese (Arasaratnam 1994: 39).

The Malabar merchants were also believed to be involved in long-distance trading to the SEA region, and in fact they were described as being present there earlier than the Gujaratis, but their role was overtaken by the latter due to geographical considerations given that the Malabar Coast was relatively exposed to the Arab world. However, the Malabari merchants took a different approach in engaging with the Malay world; direct political involvement was acquired through intermarriage by Malabar merchant families intermarrying with Arab ones, the Malabari Muslims of Mapillahs and Tamil Muslims even marrying into the Malay royal families.

Similarly, the Chulia merchants from the Coromandel Coast sailed around the Malay peninsula with textiles as their staple commodities. They included the Telugu and Tamil Chetti families, such as the Baliya Chettis, the Beri Chettis, the Komatties and the Kayalpatnam, whose members later integrated with the local community. The Chulia Muslims from southern Coromandel were found in places such as Port Novo, Masulipatnam, Nagore, Karikal, Pondicherry, Nagapatnam, Thondy, Killare and Cuddalore, and they traded actively in the Malay peninsula. The principal port of Coromandel was Pulicat, linked via Tirupati and Penukonda to the imperial city of Vinayanagar to the northwest (Prakash 2004: 448).

The Chulia Muslims had also formed close links with Tamil Hindu states such as Madura, Thanjavur, Ramnad and Maraikkar, establishing a good trade relationship with the SEA region. The diversity in the Coromandel community of the 10th century led the Arabs to call the Chulias the Chola Muslims, to differentiate them from other ethnic groups. Another ethnic group was the Bengali merchants, who were both Hindu and Muslim, arriving in the Malay world with expensive Bengal cotton as their primary commodity, as witnessed in the early Portuguese occupation period.

3.4 The Imperial Eras of the European Powers

Prior to European intervention, the Malayan community had already established a good relationship with the Indian merchants. The various merchant communities coming from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds, religion and culture were welcomed with open arms, and both regions encouraged all merchants to conduct free trade. Indian merchants had control over the trading network of EIOR but neither sought nor imposed any form of law over shipping movements or indeed any taxation of commodities. No change of policy took place; instead the traditional maritime interaction continued to benefit all participants in trading activities in the EIOR. The Indian trade with Malaya was basically a means of economic survival.

But the accord by which no power would seek monopoly or dominance over the maritime trading system of EIOR was challenged by the arrival of the European powers. Early in the 16th century, a power vacuum arose, and when the Portuguese arrived this vacuum allowed them to intrude into the trading network between the two regions. The influx of the Portuguese soon attracted other European powers – the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danish were drawn in as if by a magnet, thus turning the EIOR into a competitive territory for economic and political supremacy.

Map 6: European Colonies in Asia



Source: imgarcade.com

3.41 *The Arrival of the Portuguese*

The arrival of Portuguese ships with Vasco da Gama at Calicut on 20th May 1498 marked the dawn of a new era in the history of Euro-Asian contacts in general and of trade in particular between the two continents (Prakash 1998: 23). It was initially claimed that the Portuguese voyages to the SEA region were motivated by three G's – God, Gold and Glory (Sar Desai 1969: 501). However, Portugal's maritime interest was unambiguous – the monopoly of the spice trade – and the Portuguese intended to achieve this by the use of naval force. This can be clearly comprehended by noting the ports that flew the Portuguese flag, such as Colombo (1505), Socotra (1507), Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), Hormuz (1515) and Diu (1535).

On dropping anchor at Calicut, the Portuguese were impressed by the abundance of cloves, nutmeg, mace, pepper, sandalwood, camphor, gold, tin and precious stones from various parts of the Malay Archipelago, such as Sumatra, Borneo, the Moluccas, and mainland Malaya and (the then) Myanmar. The Portuguese also appreciated the high profit that they could make from having a monopoly on these items, not to mention the power that they gained by controlling the major routes of these spices. At the start of the 16th century, it was Indian merchants who dominated all the major ports, but the urge to monopolise and profit from the flourishing trade encouraged the Portuguese to gain a toehold at Malacca. Soon, Portuguese voyages were being made with the help of a Tamil Kaling, a merchant from the Coromandel Coast, and in 1511 Malacca, the major transit point, fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

Upon their conquest of Malacca, the Portuguese took charge immediately. They imposed a specific maritime policy to ensure their complete control of the trade between Malaya and India. Their *cartaz-armada-qafila* system (Chaudhury nd: 10) in particular was believed to have the greatest effect on traders on the traditional routes between Malaya and India. A *cartaz* was a passbook containing the name of the captain, the crew and the types of commodities carried, as well as the destination decided by the Portuguese authorities. The owner of this voyage would owe customs duty for the items carried. The *qalifa* system was a process whereby the ships on voyage under the *cartaz* system were escorted in convoys – armadas – by Portuguese flotillas. This was a direct attempt to ensure that the ships could not escape from paying the Portuguese duty. This situation did not, however, damage the maritime bond between Malaya and India; their old trade ties overlooked the new policy of the

passes system introduced by the Portuguese. It did not win hearts and minds among either the Indian merchants or the Malay traders.

The Mughal traders had established a strong friendship with the *orang kaya* (royalty) of Aceh, who also had strong family ties with Malaya. This acquaintance allowed the Gujaratis to utilise the royal family ties within the Malay Archipelago to ensure that their political influence and economic partnership would remain dominant over the incursive Portuguese. The strong foundation that had been built thousands of years earlier fostered great friendship between Malaya and India such that their trading partnership was seen to be appreciated irrespective of the new order of law, which was of benefit only to the Portuguese economy.

In the mid-16th century, the Portuguese intensified their efforts to gain monopoly and dominance by offering incentives to the Coromandel Hindu Chettis to counter the Gujarati strategy of redirecting trade to the Spice Islands. The Hindus of Coromandel cooperated with the Portuguese, and this allowed them to enjoy Portuguese protection, including naval support for their voyages in the Malay world. The strategy adopted by the Hindu Coromandel merchants was thus in complete contrast to that of the Mughals, instead taking advantage of their conquest of Malacca to further expand their trade into the Malay Archipelago by engaging with the Portuguese to whom they would otherwise have had to pay high prices for tolls and passes. The maritime links between the Hindu Coromandel and the Malay world was vital for the economic survival of both regions. A similar scenario was seen with the Hindu Chetties from Coromandel and the Konkanis from Malabar. However, these groups of merchants did not at any point lose their maritime connections with the Malay world. Their weak maritime power led them to fall under the shadow of the Portuguese who had a relatively stronger naval arsenal, but with Portuguese protection, they continued to be part of the traditional trading activities of EIOR.

Clear changes did take place with the arrival of the Portuguese in both Malaya and India. The Portuguese landings at Goa and Malacca led to the reinvention of new trade communications, with concentrations in the Sunda Strait and the Red Sea. Ports such as Surat, Cambay and Calicut were renovated for their political and economic gain. The distribution of merchant communities was slightly adjusted to accord with Portuguese preferences as well as the imposition of taxation, duty payments and the passes system under the *cartaz-armada-qalifa* system, resulting in changes to the overall balance of power of trading networks at the EIOR. K. M.

Panikkar called the arrival of the Portuguese the ‘western dominance’ (Panikkar 1953) of the maritime environment of the IOR. Van Leur asserted that the belligerent activity of the Portuguese had by the close of the 16th century become one more thread in the fabric of the international exchange of goods in the Indian Ocean (Van Leur 1956: 776–778). Such debates propose that the Portuguese appearance in the EIOR did impact the overall IOR trading paradigm, triggering new strands of argument in the literature on Malay–Indian maritime relations in the 16th century.

Nevertheless, the maritime relations between Malaya and India were not tarnished, and scholars of this academic field of study still investigate the strong relationship between Malaya and India. Scholars such as J. C. Van Leur, Niels Steensgaards, and C. R. Boxer, who wrote substantial work on the role of the Portuguese in Malacca, uphold one point strongly: the Portuguese were unable to dominate, control or even diminish the dominant role of the Mughals in the spice trade between India and Malaya.¹² Their relationship remained undiminished, and still remains important; Portuguese imperialism was never powerful enough to unlock the strong bonds of rapport between Malaya and India. The Portuguese did to some extent manage to impose a taxation system, but it did not make much difference to the maritime policy of the EIOR, resulting in Portugal’s agreement to the supremacy of the Gujaratis and other major Indian merchants. M. N. Pearson once stated that he saw the role of the Portuguese as irrelevant (Pearson 1987: 71–93). It is therefore clear that the Portuguese impact on the co-existing maritime relations between India and Malaya was minimal.

3.42 *Enter the Dutch*

The Portuguese trade monopoly led the Dutch and the English to make their first voyages to the Malay world in the early 17th century. The voyage of Vasco da Gama had opened up the IOR to many other European countries seeking a foothold, such as the French, the Swedish, and the Danish. There were also the French in the form of the *Compagnie Perpetuelle des Indes* (East India Company), the Dutch in the form of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) (United East India Company)¹³ and

¹² This argument was drawn from Van Leur 1956: 776–778, Niels Steensgaard 1974 and Boxer 1969: 415–428.

¹³ Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) - United East India Company - was a chartered company established in 1602, when the States General of the Netherlands granted it a 21-year monopoly to carry out colonial activities in Asia.

the English in the form of the East India Company (EIC),¹⁴ which did manage to make significant changes despite the continuity of the Malaya–India maritime links.

The arrival of these powers led to strong competition between the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, all striving to become the dominant maritime power of the EIOR trading networks in the 16th to 18th centuries. The Dutch did impact the Malaya–India trade system to a much greater degree than the Portuguese, and this had huge implications on the status of Malacca as an entrepôt. The situation did not, however, reduce the Indian merchants' maritime involvement in Malaya. The Indian merchants and the Malay world found innovative ways of staying connected and indeed strengthening their maritime relationship. In fact, the competition was more between the various European powers for the hegemonic role of the EIOR trading structure.

In 1607, the VOC sent its first expedition to Surat. The presence of a European power with the same economic and political interests led to a series of conflicts and power struggles with the Indian merchants who, not unnaturally, wished to maintain their presence in the Malay world. Ships that tried to sail to Perak or Kedah from India without calling at Malacca would have to pay a 10 per cent toll on their goods to Portuguese merchants. Some Mughal merchants even tried sailing to Johor, but a similar policy was implemented whereby the VOC persuaded the Sultan of Johor to ban Indian shipping in the southern sphere of Malaya.

The arrival of the Dutch at Surat and their frequent voyages to Malacca and Sumatra allowed them to control cloves and nutmeg from the 1620s. In addition, in around the 1630s, the Mughal Empire was undergoing a terrible famine due to the high prices charged by the trading companies on crucial commodities, as well as food scarcity among consumers and the public. The Dutch, who had already conquered Malacca and taken the Spice Islands in the Malay Archipelago, utilised this delicate situation to their benefit. This generated the Mughals' downfall in respect of freedom of navigation.

The Dutch attempted to impose a pass system to restrict and control the volume of Gujarati ships and at the same time to redirect these items from Malacca, to ensure full control over the trading of textiles. To impose even greater authority, the

¹⁴ The East India Company (EIC) was originally chartered as the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading with the East Indies, and later pursuing trade with the East Indies.

Dutch signed treaties with the local rulers of important trading points, such as the Governor of Malacca, and other lesser rulers, such as the Raja of Kedah and the local Governor of Ujang Selang. For example the first treaty signed with the ruler of Kedah in June 1642 stated that ships coming from Surat, Bengal and other regions to Kedah must hold Dutch passes (Arasaratnam 1994: 70).

The overwhelming imposition of the pass system toppled the Mughal traders from their position as the dominant free traders of the region (Arasaratnam 1994: 71), resulting in the revolts of the Mughals against the Dutch to save their long-held maritime agreement with the Malaya community. Complaints were filed against the VOC, and Gujaratis seized the goods arriving at Surat, as well as their factories there, to supplement and compensate for the loss caused by the Dutch tariff policies. The Dutch re-joined by seizing the ships and goods at Malacca, Perak, Kedah and Ujang Selang – all the crucial trading ports – and in fact managed to continue sailing to Surat while maintaining their blockade of the Malaya ports. They also tried to attract vessels arriving in Malacca by providing other valuable goods, to help destroy the spice monopoly held by the Mughals.

However, it was impossible to overturn the Mughal monopoly on spices from the Malay world, let alone their dominant role of intermediary between the Indian subcontinent and the Malay world. By the mid-17th century, despite various strategies to overturn the Mughal supremacy in the EIOR, the Dutch realised that the strong maritime relationship between Malaya and India was impossible to dismantle or rather take charge of through any form of force. This situation led to the signing of a treaty between the Dutch and the Mughals in 1659. In 1660, the Dutch released tariff policies, which were believed to be a failure, and passes were soon given without any restriction in Surat to Aceh, Perak, Kedah, Malacca, Johor and Perak. Trade in Malacca, which had slowed, rapidly picked up again. By the end of the 17th century, there was a certain expansion of Gujarati commerce. In the Sunda and the Malacca Straits, several ports were constructed in good anchorages such as at Johor, Kedah and Perak. A *saudagar raya* (royal merchant) existed among the Mughals who were believed to have strong authority in the state administration deciding on maritime policies. They had access to the political system of the states and at various other levels of administration, for solving maritime disputes and problems. Even in conducting routine business manoeuvres and decisions, the local merchants sought assistance and advice from the Mughals, who specialised in specific commodities in

the role of middlemen or brokers on market information, and sheriffs, and financiers, among others.

Another group of merchants that had to cope with the monopoly of the Dutch in Malaya were the Coromandel merchants. The rise of tin as a new commodity, later emerging as a crucial trade item, was seen coming from Johor, Perak and Kedah. Perak in particular grew greatly due to its tin production. The Dutch established a watchpost in Pulau Dinding near the Perak River to monitor the trade of tin in Perak. However, the Chulias countered the Dutch tactics by establishing direct contact with all the crucial ports around Dutch Malacca, and bringing tin back to Perak. The Dutch responded by restricting most commodities and tin from Perak and Kedah. A Coromandel merchant caught carrying tin would be redirected to Malacca and forced to pay taxes. Half of the products produced or brought in from outside had to be sold to the Dutch at a lower price.

The Dutch also signed treaties with Ujang Selang in 1643 and Bangery in 1645. These treaties affected the trade between Coromandel and Kedah. However, they constituted only a temporary success for the Dutch, the trade agreements between the rulers and the VOC suffering from various contradictions and misconceptions. The treaties turned out to be more in the interests of the VOC than those of the Malaya rulers, and as the Coromandel merchants soon began to sail to all the places restricted by the Dutch and found that the treaties had neither any reasonable treatment of trade nor enticement for trade, the treaties came to a dead end.

The Chulias, like the Mughal officials, failed to complain against the Dutch sea blockades and maritime policies. The Chulias were seen as more rebellious than the Gujaratis when a Dutch soldier in Ujang Selang was murdered in an altercation over the tin trade (Arasaratnam 1994: 134). There was an important maritime battle around the mid-1670s when the VOC tried to intrude into the ports in Coromandel and west Malaya, dismantling the trade between these two points. The presence of the EIC, the French and the Danish were utilised to balance the maritime game in the EIOR. These European powers, unlike the Dutch, were willing to use the pass system, and even to voyage in convoys, ensuring safe navigation between Malaya and Coromandel.

Around the 18th century, the strong maritime links between Malaya and India were increasing. Kedah in particular rose as a crucial entrepôt, with huge settlements of Chulia Marrakayar and Lebbes families. Ships were arriving in Kedah from

Cuddalore, Nagore and Mylapore, carrying textiles (from Thanjavur and south Arcot) and spices – particularly nutmeg and cloves – and tin, elephants, horses, and ivory. The direct trading by the Chulias with these western ports of the Malay peninsula allowed them to be directly involved in the Kedah administration as well as securing political support from the sultans and rajas of these states. The Chulias drew closer to Malay royalty and also to the powerful *orang kaya* (rich merchants) of the ports. The Indian merchants managed to obtain administrative positions in court, managing the rulers' trade and shipping. In the Malay sultanate, an official *saudagar raya* was manager of the Sultan's trade, where there were settlers in the Kedah and Johor rivers (Arasaratnam 1994: 137). Such officials were so involved that by the end of the 18th century, the Malay sultanate was seen to be expanding on various positions in the local administration. Thus, the Dutch rule actually resulted in the Malay–Coromandel maritime link being strengthened.

Trade with Bengal was in particular seen as an advantage to the VOC Company. Bengal had a profitable bulk of cotton that could be obtained at a cheap price, as well as raw silk which was in great demand in the European markets. Another interesting product was gunpowder (Sushil Chaudhury nd: 10) which was of great value given that much of Europe was at war. Gunpowder was a product of importance even to the EIC Company, leading the Dutch to build factories in Bengal around the mid-16th century. The trade with Bengal was positive – but the trade relationship between Malaya and India did not change.

The Dutch imposition of a similar taxation and pass system onto the Bengali ships was not, of course, in favour of Bengali traders. Soon, they too were avoiding the Dutch. The Bengali merchants had also become involved with local state officials, creating strong political links with the communities of the Malay world to sustain their maritime relationship. Dutch control over the SOM and Sumatran waters weakened when the Anglo-Dutch war ignited, and also with the entry of a new European power, the French, spreading their power with their navy in around the 1670s, establishing their position in Masulipatnam under Francois Martin. The Gujarati, Coromandel and Bengali merchants used this distraction to their advantage, strengthening their maritime ties with the Malay world. By the end of the 18th century, the Dutch lost their grip on the control of the trade between Malaya and India, and the maritime links between those two regions remained strong in the EIOR.

3.43 *British Entry*

The Dutch commercial control over staple commodities threatened the commercial success of the British, who soon began to seek a new port. They saw that establishing trade interest with the Chinese would be a platform that could help facilitate their trade interest in Malaya. So in the mid-18th century, the EIC and several private traders began to make contact with the Chinese. The EIC wanted to secure its maritime and trade interests to counter the control of Dutch in the ports of the western Malay peninsula. In addition, the EIC needed a post to utilise as a naval base in the archipelago, and to stem the growing power of the Dutch in the Malay peninsula (Cowan n.d:3).

After an exhaustive search at the Bay of Bengal, with a major focus on Aceh and the Andaman Islands, and with a negotiation with the Kedah ruler, Francis Light began searching in SOM, and finally in 1786 the opening of the port of Penang by the Prince of Wales took place. The significance of Penang as a major British port was due to its location adjacent to Malacca, which covered the major trade between Coromandel and Malaya. Penang is also located close to Thailand and Burma, facilitating trade with the Indian subcontinent. After great efforts had been made by Francis Light to build the reputation of Penang as entrepôt in rivalry to Malacca, the opening of Penang marked the British rise in the Malay world. The British took advantage of Dutch attention to the Bugis' intrusion in Riau, and penetrated into areas in Malaya where the Dutch did not have control. As a result, by the 1770s, the British completely dominated the India–Malaya trading network.

As the Dutch held Malacca, and the British held Penang, the competition was primarily between these two European powers. It did not change or reduce the scale of the trade or indeed the links between Malaya and India. The Coromandel Chulias saw the opening of Penang as an opportunity to counterbalance the Dutch dominance in Malacca with their pass system. So the Chulias began to link up Coromandel ports such as Proto Novo, Nagore and Nagapatnam, with Penang. Before the founding of Penang, the Chulias had conducted trade in the Bay of Bengal, and with the opening of Penang the trade intensity grew stronger and more frequent. A large number of Chulias began settling in Penang and establishing contact with the local people. A short-distance trade network also began to take place between Penang, Malacca and Kedah.

By the late 18th century, following the British settlement on the island of Penang, the Chulias were the third largest population there, after the Chinese and Malays. The Chulias were involved in lower social order occupations, such as shop keeping, peddling, poultry rearing, a coolie harbour on the waterfront and as crews on ships (Arasaratnam 1999: 320). In 1788, most of the Chulias who had settled in Malaya were in Kedah, where most of them intermarried with local Malays and were well integrated into the local society.

It is quite clear that the traditional trade between Malaya and India continued to exist throughout the British presence in the EIOR. Items such as tin, opium, gold, textiles and grain remained as staple commodities in Malacca during the second quarter of the 19th century. Although the items were limited, the role of Malacca as the redistribution port that it had become during the 15th century was still maintained. The brief Dutch administration over Malacca between 1818 and 1824 did not change the trading system between Malaya and India, nor indeed the items themselves; no longer did any change take place when Malacca fell to the British. Malacca under the British still maintained contact with Indian ports such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The only difference was the reduction in the volume of trade due to the rise of Penang, when Indian merchants shifted from Malacca to Penang, turning it into an entrepôt identical to that of Malacca.

Indian traders from Bombay, Madras, Nagore, Coromandel and Bengal were seen coming to Penang, especially the pioneer Moors and Chulias. The Chulia merchants, believed to be coming from Kedah, were seen trading in Penang. This shows that the relationship between Malaya and India still continued, the only change being that the trading routes differed slightly in the sense that British ships were seen coming to Penang from Pulicat, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Due to their geographical proximity, ports in the northern part of the Malay peninsula such as Perak, Kedah and Ligor were actively conducting trade with Penang. Tin from Perak and rice as well as poultry from Kedah led Penang to become a focal point of trading voyages from India.

The British attempt to endow Penang with a free trade policy gave the Indian merchants an advantage to utilise this situation to their benefit. The Dutch, who had hitherto held the tin trade in their monopolistic grip through a system of trade treaties with the tin-producing areas of the peninsula, such as Perak and Selangor, gradually lost their grip on it due to the presence of the British traders, who offered better

prices and encouraged the smuggling of tin to Penang (Newbold nd: 180). The Dutch and Portuguese pass policy was rapidly counterbalanced by the British free trade policy, reducing the importance of Dutch Malacca. As part and parcel of their programme to promote Penang as a vital port in the East, the British also encouraged Malacca's residents to migrate to Penang by reducing taxes and transforming Penang into an entrepôt (Hussin 2007: 108). The rivalry between the Dutch and the British accelerated and an aggressive trading policy as well as anti-Dutch propaganda were adopted. British captains would go around the area singing the praises of Penang and predicting the ruin of Malacca; and a statement appeared in the Calcutta newspapers asserting that the establishment of Penang was to avenge the Amboyna 'massacre' (Arasaratnam nd: 181).

This scenario was to the Indian traders' advantage and soon a large number of Chulia merchants were seen migrating to Penang, setting up settlements there and conducting trade. The free trade policy was considered a success both for the EIC Company and for the Indian Chulias to continue their trade with the Malay world. Long voyages were less visible between India and Penang, although they did not cease altogether – instead, there were many short voyages carrying Indian goods along the west coast of Malaya, for example Kedah–Penang and Malacca–Penang, also Perlis and Larut. In the early 19th century, Penang held a great volume of these goods, which had already found a steady market in India. From 1806 to 1818, trade increased and Penang became an important centre for opium, tin, Indian textiles and pepper (Cowan nd: 86).

The continuous British pressure over two decades led to the withdrawal of the Dutch from Malacca, shifting their focus southwards, to the Malay Archipelago. The British took over Malacca soon after the departure of the Dutch, but the port did not thrive as it had in the 15th century. Also, the initial idea of building Penang as a naval base and shipbuilding port was rethought in view of the idea of commercial exchanges reaching the Chinese market. The uncertain aim contributed to the decline of Penang as a port. The British were also interested in building another new entrepôt, Singapore, which soon led to the establishment of the Straits Settlements in 1826 under the EIC, became an official Crown Colony in 1867. Even in this situation, the maritime links between Malaya and India still continued, as the many major commodities, which were the major focus of these European powers, were still being traded between these two regions.

In sum, the occupation by the European powers in fact only strengthened the maritime relationship between Malaya and India. The success in the use of force to dominate the trade between Malaya and India was a lesson learnt; they would need to be prepared in the future in terms of maritime defence. More crucially, however, both countries now appreciated each other to a deeper extent than the already co-existing maritime bond concealed within their deep-rooted cultural ties. Philip Curtin developed the concept of merchants' diaspora to explain the functioning of the cross-cultural trade over the centuries. Although this concept was believed to have limited applicability to the trade of the EIOR in the 17th century, this particular cross-cultural trade was the leading and core reason for the continuous strong bond between Malaya and India despite European intervention. This strong bond was not built overnight, but over centuries. It may therefore be concluded that the Malaya–India maritime nexus is a good case of sociocultural assimilation.

3.5 Malaysia–India Maritime Relations: The Cold War Period (1945–1990)

This section aims to analyse the maritime cooperation of Malaysia and India during the Cold War period. This era was a critical component of Malaysia–India maritime policy as it is a timeframe where the long-standing relationship between Malaya and India underwent a brief interval due to the exigencies of the Cold War. What was the cause of that intermission? Did either or both of the countries make any efforts to ensure that their relationship would be sustained? An assessment of this intermission will shed light on maritime policy between both regions after the end of World War II (WW II).

During the Cold War, most newly independent countries did not involve themselves with military pacts, in order to avoid entanglement in the competition between the big powers. However for the purpose of self-defence, military build-ups were often undertaken and India – with one of the largest populations in the world – was no exception. Driven by its exit from a colonial power, the India government understood the need to have considerable maritime strength to protect its long coastline. Hence, India was interested in building a fully-fledged maritime structure, and in its aspiration to be a regional power in the South Asia Region, it reinforced its development of a blue water maritime force in the IOR.

3.51 *Self-Sufficient Maritime Strategy (1947–1961)*

Prior to independence, the RIN had relied on the British Royal Navy (BRN). From 1945 until the mid-1960s, the RIN did not have an independent structure; its roles and functions were based on and determined by the British. The initial role of RIN was confined to coastal defence, with just one naval base in Bombay and basic navy training undertaken in England.

As India began preparing itself for independence, economic development became the major agenda of its foreign policy. The devastating occupation of the British in India had led to poor economic conditions, and reorganisation of economic and industrial expansion was the primary order of business. However, aspiring to achieve regional maritime supremacy, India mapped out its own independent maritime ambitions. K. M. Pannikar recommended a number of elements that would fit the Indian maritime structure into the existing security surroundings.

The first was to develop a rounded maritime training institution to foster an effective naval force which could be mobilised at any time, whether in peace or in war. The second was to produce a small but effective naval force. Financial constraints were a concern – the major part of the nation's finances were apportioned to economic development, so only a small sum could be allocated for the purpose of maritime development. The final element was the shipbuilding industry, which would physically realise India's blue water ambitions. All these elements complemented the larger picture of effective self-sufficiency, a rounded concept of a durable maritime power.

However, with the major focus being economic development, the RIN was designed merely to defend coastal territory. It was important for India to safeguard the Indian shippers and to ensure that all supplies could come and go by sea under every possible condition. The two objectives were imperative, because a tranquil and peaceful environment would strongly contribute to India's economic growth. The policy thus focused on developing the ability to escort and protect small numbers of ocean convoys, concentrating on the important trading shipments and crucial national assets, which could contribute positively to the economy. While India was slowly recovering from the aftermath of the upheavals of independence, its government also wanted to expand RIN's maritime capability from 6000km to 200,000km from its coastline (Rahn 2006), to encourage and meet the growing and demanding economy of the country, as well as to fit the shift from a coastal trade to

an overseas ocean-going shipping state.

Although this was the focus, India during this time was vulnerable to external threats believed to be coming from its immediate neighbours, China and Pakistan. This situation demanded a stronger and resilient naval force, and led to the restructuring of the Indian navy. Hence, importance was given to naval development, but this was strictly pacifist and non-aligned. Priority was still given to the economic development of the country, therefore the navy's development was based on the fiscal income of the country; in other words, a self-reliant maritime design.

The Indian Navy mission was thus proposed, and two functions were presented. The first was the basic capability to face and defend the country's coastal SLOCs from mines, submarines, surface and air attack. The second was cooperation with the two other Indian military forces – the army and air force – to fortify and calibrate the overall structure of the Indian military in order to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country. The maritime ambitions were targeted at achieving regional supremacy in the IOR by preparing the RIN to respond to and counter small-scale threats, and to become a formidable maritime power in the region.

This mission suggested that the RIN wanted a steadfast ability to combat major naval operations. India's progressive ambitions at this early stage of its maritime evolution could be seen when the government announced the need for no less than two aircraft carriers, three cruisers, eight escort destroyers, four fleet destroyers (British Battle Class/Weapon Class), four submarines, six frigates, six minesweeper fleets, one survey fleet, five motor launchers, seven small landing crafts, some small boats, and two squadrons of aircraft – which served both the battle and attack and were also for search and rescue (Rahn, 2006). This long list was submitted to the Defence Committee for approval, but was rejected due to financial constraints.

In 1956, Pakistan joined the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), thus gaining assistance from the USA. This situation made it urgent for India to reinforce its naval defence and to match the naval competition of Pakistan, for which purpose it sought assistance from the British. The Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan made it glaringly obvious that the military build-up on the Indian side had been neglected. The USA's announcement to transfer one of its cruisers to Pakistan, along with providing other military assistance, increased India's concern. Pakistan's naval superiority created further unease, and India requested from the BRN eight new frigates, three anti-

aircraft vessels, two first-rate anti-submarine ships, three second-rate anti-submarine ships and six minesweepers – four coastal and two offshore – and also asked for three Hunt Class destroyers and one light fleet carrier, HMS *Hercules* (Rahn, 2006).

In 1958, a Khukri Class destroyer was required to provide an aircraft carrier with anti-submarine protection. While Virkant acted as an escort during a surface action during night-time, India also gained a second-hand tanker from Italy, and was working towards building its own tankers. In addition to this, India proposed the setup of a major naval base at Visakhapatnam, and established a presence in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to keep an eye on Pakistan's naval activities in the Bay of Bengal. The importance of submarine purchases during this time was also apparent; the Indian navy monetary fund rose from 4 per cent in 1951 to 9 per cent in 1957, to 12 per cent in 1960, presenting a major maritime concern in the IOR (Rahn, 2006). Various plans and proposals were submitted to the British for naval support against the threat posed by Pakistan. In the end, India settled for four sloops, two frigates, one corvette, twelve minesweepers, four tankers and limited auxiliary vessels (Rahn, 2006), seen as sufficient to defend itself against the threatening adjacent nations (taking budgetary constraints into consideration). India's maritime policy was a self-sufficient maritime strategy with high focus on economic development and a self-reliant defence policy.

3.52 *Blue Water Maritime Strategy (1962–1990)*

Pakistan's membership of CENTO and SEATO drew India's attention to a possible extension of Pakistan's navy around the Bay of Bengal. The USA military assistance allowed Pakistan to begin developing a maritime presence on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. This geographical area is a crucial part of the IOR, as it is also close to India. During this time, India looked on the IOR as its own backyard. Thus, from 1962 to the mid-1970s, India began considering strong maritime build-ups.

The Sino-Indian conflict in 1962 contributed strongly to India's decision to gear up its maritime capacity. With the possibility of sporadic attacks by Pakistan on the Indian west coast and the Arabian Sea area, and India's rivalry with China and its maritime expansion in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, India perceived that Pakistan would take advantage of the Kashmir skirmishes. Chinese antagonism during the border conflict impelled India to work towards a more resilient maritime outlook. India was seeking a strong and stable maritime structure. In 1962, India's

maritime capability was one light carrier, two cruisers, six destroyers, two old frigates, eight new frigates, six minesweepers, three seaward defence craft, one small tanker and one maintenance and repair ship (Rahn, 2006). After the Chinese aggression, India began to rethink its maritime capabilities. In its planning, RIN had projected China as a naval threat in the IOR. So in 1962, the RIN shifted its strategy by proposing another three-year plan, the Frigate Project, and recommended the construction of three Leander class frigates (*ibid*). The need to modernise and strengthen the RIN became imperative when attacks from China were made in 1962. India wanted to ensure its navy was capable of facing the possibility of future attacks from its immediate neighbours, and requested the acquisition of second-hand craft - one aircraft carrier, two cruisers and six destroyers, as well as one tanker and eight new frigates, four coastal minesweepers and two inshore minesweepers (*ibid*).

In 1963, in its Defence Review, India stressed the need to garrison the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. This statement was believed to be the first point of reference for India to lay its foundations for a more resistant maritime strategy in the IOR. For this, India suggested the commissioning of INS *Jarawa* at Port Blair. India also continued to set up the Visakhapatnam naval base that had been proposed in 1957. Two more important events took place: Goa introduced a naval base with the commissioning of INS *Gomantak*, and the naval base station facilities were updated to facilitate jet aircraft operations.

India's maritime policy was challenged further when the Indo-Pakistan War broke out in 1965. Pakistan conducted three major operations against India. The first was Operation Desert Hawk, a manoeuvre to slowly deflect the Indian military away from the Punjab and southward towards Kutch, and thus to open the territory to Pakistani invasion. This was because the Indian fleet was believed to be visiting Bahrain and Kuwait, and the aircraft carrier *Vikrant* had been carrying out routine operations in the Kutch area. In addition to this, there were economic considerations by Pakistan to focus on Rann, with its offshore oil drilling activities assisted by the USA. As a result, Pakistan held a series of exercises off Bombay and Cochin, India's major seaports, involving submarines and anti-submarine vessels, destroyers, frigates and anti-aircraft strikes. India's riposte to this situation was slow because Pakistan was richer than India both in terms of supplies as well as quality, while India was financially challenged.

The second operation was Grand Slam, whose objective was to reach the boundaries of Chamb in order to capture Akhnoor and impede India's access to Kashmir. The last was the Dwarka Operation, which provided leverage to the Pakistani Navy to block and divert the RIN from the north. The Dwarka Operation was a good opportunity for Pakistan, because the RIN was focusing its efforts on the west coast of Pakistan. The Indian navy was also fixated on the Arabian Sea and also the major ports of Bombay, Goa and Cochin on the west coast of India. This gave the RIN the ability to move and conduct blockades in the Arabian Sea, yet also moving closer to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as India was conducting annual exercises in that area.

Besides the Soviet Union, India's traditional partner, the British agreed on the construction of three Leander class frigates, proposed in 1962, and funded the Frigate Project for four years plus the expansion of Mazagon Docks Ltd. However, again due to financial constraints, it was the Soviet Union which provided four submarines to replace the Oberon submarine promised by the British, a submarine depot ship, five Petya class submarines chasers, two Landing Ships, Tank (LST) and five patrol boats to help garrison the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Financial constraints were a major factor in India's ability to respond to the conflict with Pakistan. Funds for the army and air force were deemed more important, at this time, for India. Most intrusions were land-based, and army garrisons were the priority. Sea incursions did take place, but the RIN could neither conduct a coherent defence nor counter invasions. As far as defence was concerned, protecting the Andaman and Nicobar Islands was more crucial for the IOR, connecting India to SEA countries. Hence, India's role in the west was generally to support the major ports and protect merchant ships. An effective naval deployment with a significant role could not be executed because of India's lack of autonomous oceanic ventures throughout the years. India's continued dependency on foreign assistance allowed the big powers to impede India's ability to have the most effective and dominant naval strength.

It could be concluded that during this time India was aware of the importance of maritime compatibility vis-à-vis that of other powers. However, during the Cold War period, India could not execute these ambitions due to other primary responsibilities that seemed more crucial to the wellbeing of its citizens, such as economic development, health care, education, infrastructure and other basic needs. Defence

was important, but it could be attained through assistance from foreign countries such as Britain and the USSR. Under these conditions, India's maritime relationship with Malaysia was weak. This was due not just to India's vulnerabilities within but also from Malaysia's point of view.

Malaysia's heavy dependence on the British was due to its internal vulnerability, especially in terms of defence. After *merdeka*¹⁵, Malaysia had only one army division, the *Rejimen Askar Melayu*¹⁶, and had neither air force nor indeed any other force. Malaysia's Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, in his parliamentary debate on 2nd October 1957 argued:

Let us face facts, and the facts are that we have at our command an army of less than one division strength, we have no air force, not even a single plane or sailor, and we have not even a sea-going craft. With the revenue at our command, we can never be able to build our force at the strength, which we could require for the defence of our country.¹⁷

Under these conditions, the maritime relationship between both states was poor; like India, Malaysia was concentrating on economic necessities, and in term of defence, it was a land force that formed the major military focus of the Malaysian government, in order to deter the communist movement. Its economic resources were low, and in both countries the major focus was on economic development. India's pace in responding to the conflicts imposed by China and Pakistan was slow, and this led India to be more diplomatic and pacifist in handling threats and conflicts around the IOR. In Malaysia, a similar condition applied, with its major interest in internal development.

3.6 Malaysia–India Maritime Relations under the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM)

The Cold War created a temporary separation between the governments of Kuala Lumpur and New Delhi. The difference in ideology was a major factor in the schism, and their strong maritime relationship was put to the test during the tense period that lasted throughout the Cold War. However, as independence had also led both countries to concentrate on internal development rather than engaging in military

¹⁵ Independence.

¹⁶ Malay land force.

¹⁷ Malaysian parliamentary debate, 2nd October 1957.

confrontation in the EIOR, both countries did continue to have international relations, as shown through their exhaustive communications through the NAM to discuss the safety and security of the EIOR. By scrutinising Malaysia's and India's roles in the NAM and the varied ideas that both presented through this movement, we will be able to identify key similarities, notably regarding maritime issues.

India's first official NAM meeting, the Belgrade Conference, was held in September 1961. The purpose of the conference was to exchange views on international problems, focusing on effectively contributing to world peace through amicable cooperation amongst all nations.¹⁸ The conference debated that world peace could only be achieved if notions of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations were eradicated.¹⁹ It also urged for peaceful cooperation based on principles of independence and equal rights, leaving no room for intimidation, interference or interventions. The independent right to pursue policies in order to preserve sovereignty, and the independent choice to stay away from military pacts that included the acquisition of WMDs nuclear and chemical weapons, were the primary themes of this conference.

Nehru, the founding father of the NAM, said:

We call ourselves the conference of non-aligned countries. Now the word non-aligned may be differently interpreted, but basically it was used and coined, almost with the meaning: non-aligned with the great power blocs of the world. Non-aligned has a negative meaning but if you give it a positive connotation it means nations which object to this lining-up for war purposes, military blocs, military alliances and the like. Therefore we keep away from this and we want to throw our weight, such as it is, in favour of peace (Malaviya 1981: 5).

Nehru further argued for the architecture of India's policy of non-alignment, saying:

We have to achieve freedom and defend it. We have to meet aggression and resist it and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose. But even when preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must never be lost sight of, and heart and mind must be attuned to this supreme aim, and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear (Malaviya 1981: 24).

The intention Nehru tried to put across during the Belgrade Conference was India's ambition to shape its own nation, its community, with unconditional freedom.

¹⁸ 1st Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment Movement, Belgrade, 6th September 1961.

¹⁹ Ibid.

At the Belgrade Conference, he further stated: ‘freedom is essential, because freedom will give us strength and enable us to build prosperous societies’ (Datta 2005: 81). The NAM was a launchpad to progressively start building societies that would be prosperous and filled with economic opportunities. It was these elements – freedom, peace, and independence, avoiding military pacts contributing to the deterrence of third-party involvement in internal affairs – that determined foreign affairs. This did not exclude the independent policy of regulating maritime affairs in the EIOR. With the tug-of-war between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and USA permeating the EIOR, India wanted to avoid the arms race, which could involve military developments like the building of bases and other facilities within the EIOR. However, this caused unease, in that it could cause instability and distract India from its focus on developing its economy. It also gave rise to concerns of being dragged into a military pact, opening the doors for either bloc to impose their own political interests on India.

Although Malaysia did not officially support NAM at this time, it did share the same general idea of the national interest that was present in India. Malaysia was all for the eradication of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism – naturally so, being a newly independent state itself. Both nations worked diligently towards world peace, and wanted to be left free to concentrate on their respective economic growth, including the safety of navigation in the SLOCs in the EIOR. Malaysia saw its pro-western ideology as a military deterrent to communism – but this was also another form of imperialism by western powers over Malaysia, in that the Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement (AMDA) was a military pact allowing the Malaysian army to be utilised by the British for defence purposes.

However, more often than not it was actually Malaysia that sought assistance from Britain, in order to deter threats of communist insurgency. Tunku stressed, ‘I have made myself clear before that we side with the western ideology or the western understanding of democracy’,²⁰ and this is because of the threat from communism. That said, Malaysia was, just like India, clearly against colonialism or any form of risk to its own sovereignty. The fact that Malaysia was not part of the NAM at that particular time was due to its conviction that it should stay neutral – it refused to engage directly with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) or indeed any other

²⁰ National Archives of Malaysia. *Straits Times*, 15 December 1962. Retrieved on 20th November 2013.

communist nation the world over. Despite the different paths that Malaysia and India had decided to take, they both still held true to the same fundamentals – respecting state sovereignty and working towards world peace, while concentrating on closing the gap between rich and poor.

In the 1964 NAM Summit in Cairo, the participants agreed to follow independent policies on a number of issues: peaceful co-existence with other countries of different political and social ideologies, or showing trends towards such policies; to always support popular liberation movements; not to become party to any collective military pact that would have implications for current East–West wrangles; not to become party to any bilateral treaty with any regional defence bloc, if that would mean involvement in East–West disputes; and not to have on its territory foreign military bases set up with its own consent in the context of great conflicts.²¹

The summit stated that although the tensions between the two blocs might have reduced, the threat of imperialism was still present. However, the positive response during the summit – the increase in NAM members while the ideological war between the two blocs was ongoing – demonstrated the success of the NAM throughout the globe. In that conference, the members pointed out the major issues that were challenging the current international situation at that time and expressed their support in ensuring peace and security in the world.²² Similar agendas from the Belgrade Summit were reinforced, such as military interventions, pacts or alliances with great power that could cause instability to the international system. The possibilities of economic exploitation by big powers in developed countries were also pinpointed. The conference condemned all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies.²³ In addition, the summit urged all international conflicts to be settled by peaceful means to preserve state sovereignty and integrity.

The positive growth of the overall NAM notion demonstrated India's success in promoting it. During this time, the late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri – Nehru's successor – brought forward further refinement of the elements of NAM. They included: nuclear disarmament; peaceful settlement of border disputes; freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination;

21 National Archives of Malaysia. *Straits Times*, 15 December 1962. Retrieved on 20th November 2013.

22 2nd Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment Movement, Cairo, 10th September.

23 Ibid.

acceleration of economic development through international cooperation; and full support for the UN and its programmes for peace and development (Malaviya 1981: 5). Shastri recalled Nehru's famous words, that where freedom is menaced or justice is threatened or where aggression takes place, the non-aligned cannot be and shall not be neutral (Malaviya 1981: 5).

All the members of the NAM stressed the desirability of restoring stability and peace with regard to this conflict and refrained from actions that could further accelerate the repercussions of war. The NAM expressed the need to terminate all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region.²⁴ Malaysia was not yet an official member of NAM, but did express its support to the NAM, by declaring Chinese attacks on India as naked aggression towards its territorial integrity. In addition, Malaysia offered help by allowing the recruitment of Indian Malaysian armies to assist India during the border conflict. Malaysia's commitment towards friendship with India was more than evident. As mentioned earlier, after independence Malaysia had no air force or navy, but did have the *Rejimen Askar Melayu*; and with only this, Malaysia still expressed its support to help India on the basis of the long-standing foreign relations between both states and also because of both states being Commonwealth Nations.

At the Lusaka Summit in 1970, the NAM continued towards its major objectives. The summit stressed that the détente was a positive indication, but that the military blocs were not totally disbanded. It argued that although clashes between the great powers had lessened, the security of developing countries was still threatened. India's Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, stressed that by staying out of military pacts the non-aligned countries could use their collective wisdom and influence to tip the balance of power in favour of peace and international cooperation (Malaviya 1981: 6). She also urged members to remain focused on economic cooperation. These being the common challenges for NAM members. In addition, Mrs Gandhi also urged all NAM members to work towards unity to increase the solidarity of the institution.

The 1970 Lusaka Summit was a great turning point for Malaysia's and India's bilateral relationship after the temporary split. Tun Abdul Razak had taken over Tunku's administration, and had strongly adopted the NAM approach in shaping its

²⁴ 2nd Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment Movement, Cairo, 10th September.

foreign policies. Malaysia thus joined the summit for the very first time. During the summit, Razak said:

The non-alignment principles to which Malaysia wholeheartedly subscribes ... call for ... restraint and consideration from the big powers in their actions and decision, which affect smaller countries. In keeping with the letter, the non-aligned countries at Lusaka looked to the neutralization of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Malaysia for its part had taken this a step further and called for the neutralization of SEA – a neutralization that necessarily requires the endorsement of USA, USSR and China, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia cannot be considered in isolation. They are very much a part of SEA, which has all the potentialities of becoming an arena of conflict of the super powers intent on the extension of their spheres of influence. In our view, therefore, peace and stability in this region can only be a reality of the neutralization that should cover the entire area as guaranteed by USA, USSR and China.²⁵

Though Malaysia's induction into NAM brought the two countries closer, Malaysia did not, due to its lack of maritime supplies, have the ability to assist India in its conflict with Pakistani naval forces. This was because maritime divisions were still secondary to land forces in the allocation of resources, due to threats of communist attacks on land. Indonesia then threatened the Bay of Bengal and claimed the EIOR as part of the Indonesian Ocean. Malaysia did not respond to the issue because it did not have the resources, but it did, as mentioned above, have support from the British through AMDA, established in 1957, which had promised assistance in the case of military threats from neighbouring countries.

It was the Malaysian membership of AMDA that caused friction with India, which strongly upheld the NAM policy of not engaging in any form of military pact. However, as an independent sovereign country, Malaysia had decided to engage in a military pact for its own defence, taking into consideration its vulnerability as a developing country, and AMDA was a form of military deterrent. In 1967, Britain decided to pull its military forces east of Suez but due to the historical relations between them, Britain, together with Australia and New Zealand, managed to maintain the chain of security structures in the IOR. By 1971, after the change of administration from Tunku to Razak, the AMDA meeting in London concluded that the formation of the Five Power Defence Agreement (FPDA) – a new name for the

²⁵ 2nd Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment Movement, Cairo, 10th September, YEAR???

AMDA – obliged its members to consult each other in the event of an external aggression or threat. There was, however, no requirement for physically stationing multinational forces in Malaysia or Singapore (Khoo, 2000).

This suggests that Malaysia's interest in FPDA is purely on the basis of defence, and not a coercive military pact against any country or any form of aggression against another state's sovereignty or territorial integrity. It was a pact made with self-defence in mind, when the SEA region was under threat from the communist insurgents seeking assistance from bigger powers. Malaysia's agreement with AMDA was similar to the nominally democratic invitation for India to intervene in the Maldives. Based on this, it is apparent that Malaysia strongly supports the principle of *Panchashila* – mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. Therefore, Malaysia's actions opposing communist insurgency did not imply that it was projecting provocative behaviour or instigating disorder in the EIOR, but merely ensuring its own protection against communist threats. In fact, this demonstrates that Malaysia – like India in ensuring the stability of south Asia's waters through its intervention in the Maldives – was pursuing an anti-communist policy, to minimise the instability that could be caused by communist movements in countries sharing borders with Malaysia around SEA waters. Both states seek a peaceful environment, and stable waters for safe and free navigation for the purpose of economic communication. In addition, they both require a stable environment to promote a proper focus on internal developments, especially as domestic uncertainties could be seen as an invitation for external intervention.

More summits were held in subsequent years, with the focus on solidarity, unity, freedom, and the importance of economy and avoiding military pacts, including peaceful relations with all nations. Malaysia, alongside India and other newly independent countries, was integral to these summits, even though Malaysia continued its association with FPDA. At the Algiers Summit in 1973, Mrs Gandhi urged that non-aligned countries should speak for those whose numbers were large but whose voices were muted.²⁶ The need to provide a voice for such peoples was seen during Tun Mahathir Mohammad's tenure as the fourth Prime Minister of

²⁶ 4th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment MOVEMENT???, Algiers, 5-9th September 1973.

Malaysia, when she spoke on behalf of newly independent countries, voicing each state's solidarity with southern countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). In 1975, in the Indian National Congress at Komagatamaru Nagar, she said:

India's own unique struggle for freedom, its consistent support to the liberation struggle of people under colonial domination, its tradition of strong opposition to imperialism, neo-colonialism and external intervention against the sovereignty and independence of any country, its rejection of the division of the world through military pacts and sphere of influence and its abhorrence of all forms of racialism and discrimination provide the basis for its solidarity with other non-aligned countries and progressive forces in the world (Malaviya 1981: 31).

She concluded by saying, 'we must determine to help ourselves, to sacrifice, to pool our resources, knowledge and initiative. We must work together on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis' (Malaviya 1981: 29). This choice of communication, multiple diplomacy, resulted from India's weak internal condition, both economically and politically. It was also adopted by Malaysia. In 1967, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand established ASEAN, a regional cooperation in SEA covering various factors such as economic development, social evolution and also the peace and stability of the region. The membership expanded with new entrants – Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Burma and Vietnam. ASEAN's creation was a result of the growing threat of communism; it was a regional cooperation that was deemed imperative in the fight against this increasing menace. It also served as a deterrent against intervention from external powers, building on common ground among its members to promote better economic and social conditions.

In the Colombo Summit of 1976, with more participation coming from African states, India reinforced the idea of NAM and urged its members to remain committed to the results of the previous gathering, which had built a strong platform for the continuing success of the NAM movement. Mrs Gandhi again urged that this unity would have a positive impact on world peace. She believed that though the colonial years were over, the newly independent states were still vulnerable to exploitation. She believed that economic focus was more important than being involved in the Cold War proxies, which only benefited the big powers.

The NAM movement grew from building strong fundamentals based on unity among members, to discussing economic and political issues. During the height of

the Cold War, apart from focusing on a new economic order, members were urged to cultivate freedom and peace by encouraging negotiation instead of confrontation, and cooperation instead of conspiracy. It was suggested that banks and international monetary institutions should help developing countries for economic enhancement.

At the Lima Summit of 1975, it was concluded that cooperation among the non-aligned countries was critical in deflecting any threats to their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Significant, too, was promoting new economic and political relations between nations founded on equity, respect and justice for their respective interests. In 1980, Mr Narasimha Rao stressed that NAM never had been and never need be between the great powers of power blocs, that 'non-alignment' meant not taking sides, but maintaining some kind of rigid balance in relation to the great powers in order to defend national independence and sovereignty, which took care of all its other interests (Malaviya 1981: 33). He argued that NAM was a unique method adopted for the promotion of national interest within the overall framework of peaceful co-existence and cooperation (Malaviya 1981: 33).

In 1979, during the Havana Summit, on the issue of Vietnamese action in Kampuchea, India urged for the elimination of any use of force and to remain focused on cooperation and dialogue. Even in the case of Soviet action in Afghanistan, India opposed the use of force through intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It pressed for independence, respect of territorial integrity, non-interference, non-intervention and the non-alignment status of Afghanistan, also criticising the Camp David Accord between Egypt and Israel. As the NAM institute matured and handled more acute issues, it followed strict rules of non-interference, following through with the establishment of informal and ad hoc committees over bilateral issues, favouring a firm non-intervention policy among its members.

Chairing the New Delhi Summit in 1983, Mrs Gandhi said that the summit maintained and would remain committed to the previous objectives and agreements formed during the previous summits. She stressed the relevance of the principles and objectives of the NAM movement in the contemporary international situation, and emphasised the interrelationship between peace, independence, disarmament and development (Datta 2005: 40). She also strongly pleaded for unity, harmony and collective self-reliance among non-aligned countries (Datta 2005: 40).

This development illustrates how the NAM policy had been the bedrock of India's foreign policy from its very independence until the end of the 1980s. These

same elements were incorporated into Malaysia's foreign policy from the early 1970s. Both countries worked towards similar interests, such as sovereignty sustainability, foreign policy choices free from colonial or outside influences, and internal development, especially economic. The early stages of NAM focused heavily on state integrity, territorial strengthening, independence, freedom and anti-colonial policies. It rejected military pacts, which could cause unnecessary friction among nations during the peak of the Cold War. In a wider context, it also involved the peace and safety of the IOR. In the 21st century, the big powers began exercising their power in the IOR, with the rise of major Asian powers. Maritime activities being integral to a state's power, both Malaysia and India were aware of the situation. Freedom of navigation was applicable to all states, and voyages that were genuine trading ones should have been indisputable, thus strong policies particular to sovereignty were an important factor to avoid intrusion by external entities. Both states also wanted to conduct their maritime activities in a peaceful way, so the fundamentals of NAM were essential to build a strong foundation for sound maritime policies.

As both states strengthened the NAM policy domestically and on an international level, peace within the EIOR became a crucial agenda, and details on maritime cooperation began to arise. With this, maritime cooperation between Malaysia and India began building up once again.

3.61 The Indian Ocean Region as a Zone of Peace

The acceptance of NAM as the cornerstone of their foreign policy was prevalent both in Malaysia and India during the peak of the Cold War. It was a central choice for both to remain isolated from the maritime conflicts happening around them. In other words, although both states appreciated their long-standing historical connections, their concern was predominantly on ensuring a peaceful environment so as to enable more resources to be directed towards their internal affairs and development. Focusing on their maritime military prospects was not favourable to either Malaysia or India at this time; therefore both underwent a temporary change in direction. In order to build the IOR as a zone of peace, devoid of coercive activities, communications on the grounds of maritime reasons was seen as more critical. Naval competition between great powers further urged this necessity.

While promoting NAM, Malaysia and India were seen as active in boosting the

IOR as a zone of peace, free from nuclear proliferation, WMD, the arms race, military build-up and any other form of coercive activities that could lead to instability of the IOR. Most of these objectives were achieved through NAM summits and the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. This had started during the Cairo Summit in 1964. The declaration included:

The conference recommends the establishment of denuclearized zones covering these and other areas and the oceans of the world, particularly those that have hitherto been free from nuclear weapons, in accordance with the desires expressed by the states and peoples concerned ... The conference also requests the nuclear powers to respect these denuclearized zones.²⁷

The Prime Minister of Ceylon in 1964, Sirimao Bandaranaike, was one of the many leaders of developing countries who adamantly stressed the concept of a nuclear-free zone in the IOR. Similarly, at the third summit in Lusaka in 1970, the topic of sea policy coordination was introduced by urging all members to utilise marine resources and the protection of the marine environment at all levels including bilateral, regional and inter-regional levels. Threatened and intimidated by foreign intrusion at the IOR as the global shift began turning towards it, these newly independent countries wanted to deter the possibility of triggering the IOR as a bargaining chip to be used in the rivalry between the USSR and USA, which would also include the likelihood of a nuclear arms race and military competition. Realising it was the peak of the naval rivalry between the USSR and USA, the Prime Minister of Ceylon declared that it would close its seaports and airfields to ships and aircraft either carrying nuclear weapons or equipped for nuclear warfare (Raghavan nd: 18).

Mrs Gandhi, supporting the idea, urged for the need to declare the IOR as an area of peace and cooperation. She argued:

The external powers' perception of their interests in the Indian Ocean and their politico-military response had resulted in enhanced military capability in the area which could be used by them as a diplomatic leverage not only in their global political rivalry but also with the littoral states.²⁸

The plea put forward by Mrs Gandhi and other non-aligned members ended the conference with the following:

²⁷ 2nd Summit Conference in Cairo of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Movement, Cairo, 10th September 1964.

²⁸ 2nd Summit Conference in Cairo of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Movement, Cairo, 10th September 1964.

The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: Adoption of a Declaration calling upon all States to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace from which great power rivalries and competition, either army, navy or air force bases, are excluded. The area should also be free of nuclear weapons.²⁹

The 'zone of peace' notion was further submitted at the UNGA to ensure the IOR would not be subjected to any ocean or air military exercise by great powers and to consult the littoral states of the IOR with regard to military bases, installations, logistic supply facilities, nuclear weapons and WMD. Sri Lanka also proposed that the peace zone concept be stretched to the high seas, declaring the IOR as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ) and stated that all members should close their ports to vessel and aircraft carrying nuclear bombs.³⁰ The Prime Minister of Ceylon urged that all countries bordering the Indian Ocean should join not only in giving effect to this proposal, but also in keeping the Indian Ocean as an area of peace.³¹

The Lusaka Summit also expressed a similar concept from an economic point of view. The summit conveyed that the seabed, the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as well as the resources of the area, are the common heritage of mankind.³² They should be used for purposes of peace, benefiting all humanity especially in the interests of developing countries.

In 1972, the General Assembly requested its 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The declaration expressed:

A common view point among the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean should be attained through close consultations ... the states should affirm their resolve to settle disputes between them through peaceful means and without resort to force, in conformity with the principle of mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states, and without prejudice to the exercise of the right to use force in self-defence and in attaining self-determination ... there was need to promote and ensure conditions of security within the region so as to strengthen sovereignty and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean (United Nations Yearbook 1973: 35).

²⁹ 3rd Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Alignment MOVEMENT???, Lusaka, 8-10th September 1970.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

During the Algiers Summit in 1973, members of NAM adopted the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, and urged that the attempt to declare the IOR as a zone free from any military activities or expansion, was an aid to ensure the safety and tranquillity of the IOR. In addition, NAM members opposed the construction of the Anglo-American base at Diego Garcia. This later led to official opposition to the project, quoting the possibility of conflict of interest, increasing tension and rivalry between developing nations as well as the big powers. It was also in this year that the question of the zone of peace in the Indian Ocean was discussed mainly in the First (Political and Security) Committee.

During the New Delhi NAM Summit in 1973, the consensus reasserted the objectives of the previous declaration in ensuring the IOR as a zone of peace as well as the role of non-aligned states to continue supporting these goals. The summit argued that the presence in the IOR area of any manifestation of great power – military presence, foreign bases, military installations and logistical supply facilities, nuclear weapons and WMD – conceived in the context of great power competitions will be a flagrant violation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. At the Initiative of Mauritius, the New Delhi Summit elevated Diego Garcia from a solely Indian Ocean issue to an anti-colonial issue, declaring the base not only as a threat to peace, but also as a residual imperialist presence perpetuated in contempt of the littoral states (Harrison, Subrahmanyam and Misra 1987: 22). It also expressed concern about the possible search of great powers for new bases to build military facilities for further military activities.

At the Lima Summit in 1975, the participants opposed the great powers' further attempts to continue with the Diego Garcia base in the IOR. The declaration called upon the Indian Ocean states to refuse the granting of facilities to warships and military aircraft of the great powers used in the context of their rivalry or for any other purpose that might be detrimental to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the region (Raghavan nd: 20). As a consequence, in 1976 the Colombo Summit urged the great powers and major maritime powers to commit to an early consultation of UN resolutions on the IOR. The Colombo Summit continued to press that any attempt to develop military bases in the IOR, not just Diego Garcia, would be seen as a threat to the sovereignty and peaceful development of states in the region.

In 1976, at the 5th Summit in Colombo, the proposal put during the Lusaka

Summit was brought forward, and it drew the attention of members to the declaration of the IOR as a Zone of Peace from the great powers. The roles of the great powers were emphasised because the objective of the proposal was to ensure the stability of the IOR despite any form of military activities during the peak of the Cold War. NAM members, including Malaysia and India, were deeply concerned about the historic victory of the liberation struggle in Indo-China, which could cause tension in South Asian waters through the naval expansion of the great powers and a battle for supremacy. The NAM gave a commendation for them to use the IOR for the peaceful and innocent passage of vessels along the littoral states. It stressed that the IOR should not grant facilities to any other states for the purpose of any arms race. It referred to the installations on Diego Garcia as a threat to the sovereignty and tranquillity of neighbouring states and stressed that a strong collective security organisation should be recognised at an international level but without any military alliances.

In 1978, about 42 delegates from 18 countries participated in a six-day regional colloquium on 'The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace' in New Delhi to ensure security interests, not allowing the intrusion of outside powers. The Havana Summit in 1979 further stressed the objective of littoral states over the shows of strength by big maritime powers in the IOR. The summit expressed its concern on the intentions of great powers to deploy military and naval forces in the IOR on a permanent basis. They stressed that the littoral states of the IOR should not join any form of military blocs and pacts, welcoming the fact that a number of the region's countries had withdrawn from such pacts. The conference stressed that any form of military bases or installations are a direct threat to a state's sovereignty and its future developments. Therefore it is vital to discourage and subvert any form of such developments in the IOR. The forum noted that talks had been held between the USSR and the USA on reducing their military presence in the IOR.

With the development of the NAM to the Declaration of the IOR as a Zone of Peace, new elements to support this policy began to surface in the SEA region, a crucial component of the IOR. During the Lusaka Summit in 1970, when Razak adopted the NAM policy, he strongly supported the concept of Zone of Peace of Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in the IOR. However, it was Malaysia's Foreign Affairs Minister, Tengku Ahmed Rithaidden, who was the first SEA member to voice the intention of further expansion of the concept to a 'Zone of Peace, Freedom

and Neutrality in Southeast Asia’.

During the discussions, Malaysia and India continued their demands at the UN meeting and openly opposed USA nuclear attempts, arguing that the nuclear arms race was escalating with the development of newer and more destructive and lethal weapons systems such as the neutron bomb.

During the 6th summit in Havana in 1979, Malaysia stressed the need to implement the IOR as a zone of peace and to respect the freedom of navigation and to limit maritime movements to peaceful ones. In 1981, in a conference on the IOR to implement the Assembly of 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, a final document was assembled:

Limits of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace ... halting the further escalation and expansion and eliminating the military presence of the great powers in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalry ... elimination of great power military bases and installations from the Ocean conceived in the context of that rivalry ... denuclearization of the ocean in the context of implementation of the declaration ... non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes ... strengthening of international security through regional and other cooperation in the context of the implementation of the declaration and ... free and unimpeded use of the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace by vessels of all nations in accordance with the norms and principles of international law and custom (United Nations Yearbook 1979: 49).

Similar agendas continued to show interest in the following summits with further argument on disarmament issues, as in New Delhi in 1983 and 1986. In 1989, the international seminar on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace was held in Sochi, USSR, where the Secretary General of the UN stated:

Peace in the Indian Ocean is of great importance to all the states in the region as well as to the international community. At a time when, with the active assistance of the UN, the threat of a global war is receding, international tension is abating and regional conflicts in virtually all regions are gradually being settled, the establishment of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean could only contribute to further general relaxation (International seminar on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace 1989: 113).

In sum, Malaysia and India did drift apart temporarily during the early years of the Cold War. However, around the 1970s, during the détente periods in both USSR and USA, while Malaysia was shifting from anti-communism to a non-alignment policy, both parties melded their maritime policies based on strong NAM policy. This

cooperation on the grounds of maritime security continued to exist through their common ground as newly independent countries on international platforms such as the UN, NAM summits and ASEAN summits on issues that helped to economically and socially enhance both countries. For this to be accomplished, both states upheld the NAM policy to ensure peace would be preserved. Moreover, because maritime competition was significantly present in the IOR during the Cold War, both countries worked towards ensuring the presence of a peaceful environment and the avoidance of military pacts that could turn their traditional maritime link, the EIOR, into a maritime battlefield.

International platforms were the communication instruments of choice because both were newly independent countries with various internal vulnerabilities. This meant that their pace of response to a maritime conflict would be slow by virtue of their poor maritime capability and capacity. Furthermore, economic and social boosts were their primary objectives. To achieve these goals, both countries needed to ensure the presence of a peaceful environment. The safety and security of major SLOCs in the EIOR, devoid of any military intervention, was the major focus of both Malaysia and India. The next chapter discusses the drivers of MIMSC in the EIOR.

CHAPTER 4

THE DRIVERS OF MALAYSIA–INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION DURING THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

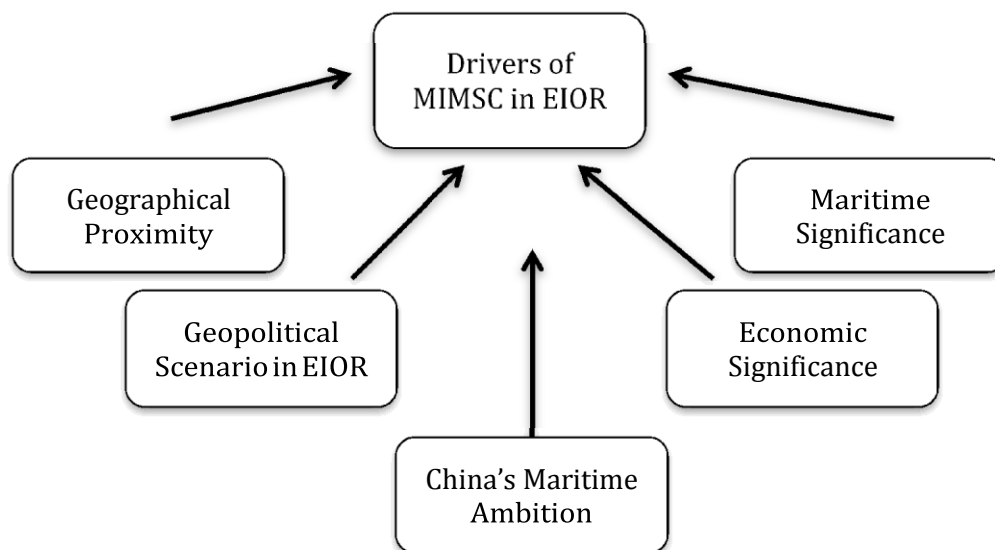
4.1 Introduction

The IOR is one of the largest oceans and has always attracted world attention on maritime issues in IR. A more acute focus was directed towards the IOR when the global shift took place from West to East. With two major rising Asian powers, India and China, along with an increasing importance of energy politics and innovative non-traditional threats, the IOR became the ‘strategic heart of the world’ (Kaplan 2010: 134). In fact, Alfred T. Mahan stated: ‘whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia’ (Mahan 1987). The ocean is the key to seven seas and in the 21st century, the destiny of the world will be decided on its water (*ibid*).

Thomas P. M. Barnett has stated that no ocean is in need of strategic stability more than the Indian Ocean, because the IOR is the gateway for the West to East Asia and Oceania via South East Asia (Barnett 2001). In the 1970s and 1980s, the Indian Ocean was regarded as its own strategic entity, which should not automatically become a prize for superpower conflict (Hatcher nd: 3). At the UN, a proposal to adopt an Indian Ocean Peace Zone was tabled and discussed annually. It was claimed that the IOR was an important area for seaborne activities, especially trade, and therefore the safety and security of the IOR should not be compromised at any cost.

This chapter discusses the drivers of MIMSC in the EIOR in the post-Cold War era. It will discuss the following factors: a) geographical proximity, b) the geopolitical scenario, c) China’s maritime ambitions, d) economic significance, and e) maritime significance.

Diagram 1: The Drivers of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region



4.2 Geographical Proximity

The distances between and within land, water boundaries and overlapping concourses play important roles in determining the intensity of communications and the level of state interactions with one and another. A ‘region’ can be defined on the basis of a set of countries in close geographical proximity with each other that share a certain commonality of national interests. These interests could include social, economic, political, cultural and historical factors. Hence, the need to understand the significance of placing cooperation above conflict in the conduct of interstate relations is in rise. These elements are evident in the case of MIMSC in EIOR.

Geographically, Malaysia and India are wide open to threats from the sea, both on the eastern side and through the western channels to the IOR. Thus, geographical proximity plays a vital part³³ and is an important factor in determining MIMSC in EIOR.³⁴ Proximity is an important underlying factor for one state to establish connections with another and if anything, the changing regional geopolitical context including China’s rise, and the myriad of security challenges³⁵.

SOM in particular was an important entrepôt for both Malaysia and India during the pre-colonial and Cold War era, and it continues to play an important point for

³³Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

³⁴India Group Interview 1.

³⁵Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

MIMSC in the post-Cold War era. It was the Gujaratis who discovered the SOM, which later turned out to be such a crucial link between the Indian maritime trading networks and the eastern trading networks. The SOM was appreciated because it acted as a much more strategic port for trading activities between India and China, for Indonesian spices such as nutmeg and mace from the Banda islands, cloves from Amboina, Ceram and Moluccas, and grain from Java (Gupta 1994: 410). Geographically, SOM is strategic as it provides a shorter route to the eastern trading network, a network for commercial exchanges with China, Sumatra and India and up to Cambay. At the same time, SOM acts as a safe haven during the annual monsoon season. With the rising sophisticated and complex international trading network comprising the Far East, SEA, the Islamic world and Europe, the SOM became the central international trading emporium.

The SOM soon arose as a strategic entrepôt and safe midpoint between the great civilisations of India and China, and this process established a new maritime link between Malaya and India. Today, the port of Malacca still plays an important role in connecting the India–China trading network in EIOR. The strategic location of SOM acting as a choke point at the Bay of Bengal is China's biggest concern, and China's web of relationships in the IOR explains China's Malacca Dilemma in the EIOR. Geographical proximity and climate factors are natural occurrences that are adequate to create the leverage needed to befriend each other through history, and remain an important driving factor of MIMSC in EIOR. Therefore, as the security of the EIOR and its SLOCs impacts both Malaysia and India, it is affirmed that geographical proximity plays a fundamental driving force for both Malaysia and India to engage in cooperation concerning MIMSC.

In addition to their geographical proximity, the protection of their maritime sovereignty from invasion by another country is in the interests of both nations. India is a country with huge land territory, open to maritime threats both from the west and the east. In addition, India also neighbours sensitive and unstable countries, which has direct implications for the sovereignty of the states within India. It has been suggested that India's maritime projection has the ability to drive and decisively affect land military operations (Pant 2013: 3). Similarly, the Chief of Naval Staff Admiral Suresh Mehta has said that the Indian Navy's 2020 goal was to have the capability of influencing the outcome of land battles and performing a constabulary role in the Indian Ocean region (Pant 2013: 3). Therefore, the protection of the

stability of India's inland sovereignty has been the driving force for India's maritime ambitions in the region. Similarly, for Malaysia, the safety and security of its waters in SOM and EIOR is vital to deter inland invasion. Malaysia is also open to threats from the sea, both on its eastern coast and to the west, facing the Indian Ocean, directing Malaysia's strong maritime ambitions in the region.

4.3 The Geopolitical Scenario in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region

The changing geopolitical scenario in the EIOR is another driving factor of MIMSC in the EIOR. This includes the need to secure major SLOCs, tackle transnational crimes and avoid a naval arms race between powers and provide a peaceful environment for seaborne activities in IOR. The transnational nature of these challenges necessitates, ideally, a collective and multilateral approach, and certainly the coordination and equivalence of approaches amongst countries.

The rising threat from non-state actors is of particular importance for both Malaysia and India and plays a vital role in shaping MIMSC in the EIOR. The advent of 9/11 had increased concern over terrorist attacks in the region. As the threat emerged from Afghanistan, this directly affected the security of India as it borders with both Afghanistan and Pakistan – notwithstanding the fact that India is still at war with Pakistan. According to a statement on his official website, Prime Minister Narendra Modi told the soldiers in the town of Leh: “The neighboring country has lost the strength to fight a conventional war, but continues to engage in the proxy war of terrorism.” Modi's words reflect the deep-seated animosity between India and Pakistan, countries which have fought three wars since they gained independence from Britain in 1947 (Bengali 2014).

An October 2014 report by the USA Department of Defense stated that Pakistan had been engaging in fighting India's 'superior' military by proxy. Thus the Pentagon brought Pakistan's use of militant groups as proxies to the attention of the USA Congress (Jha 2014). “Pakistan uses these proxy forces to hedge against the loss of influence in Afghanistan and to counter India's superior military,” the Pentagon told Congress in its latest report, ‘Progress Towards Security and Stability in Afghanistan’ (USA Department of Defense 2014). This therefore affects the behaviour of India towards its neighbour and, most importantly, its commitment to military cooperation with other countries in the EIOR.

War on terror is not new;³⁶ in the SEA region, terrorist groups such as the Abu Sayyaf Group³⁷ (ASG), Al Qaeda,³⁸ the *Kumpulan Militan Malaysia*³⁹ (KMM), and the *Jemaah Islamiyah*⁴⁰ (JI) from the Philippines and Indonesia, which have carried out attacks in the sea, were mostly found operating in Singapore and Malaysia during the post-9/11 investigations. The War on Terror after 9/11 has made the situation more volatile for Malaysia, and Malaysia seeks to keep the EIOR away from terrorist activities and movements.⁴¹ The threat posed by the Islamic State (IS) is now spreading southwards and eastwards from the Middle East towards the IOR and Southeast Asia (where a significant Muslim population resides), and this is a potential area for further Malaysia–India military and security cooperation.⁴² These groups have also been closely linked with an increasing number of acts of piracy, armed robbery, drug trafficking and epidemics in the region, especially in SOM.

In addition to this, the geographical nature of SOM, being narrow at both the eastern and the northern ends, provides greater opportunities for such attacks. For example, terrorist groups often target SOM because ship movements around this area are usually slow at narrow waters and this condition is an advantage for easier attacks (Cole 2008: 86). The fact that the 9/11 investigations discovered that the major terrorist groups are shifting focus towards Singapore and Malaysia naturally meant that SOM is exposed to such threats, thus bringing the question of Malaysia's sovereignty and the safe navigation of the strait to the fore.

In terms of traditional security threats, there have been conflicts such as the clash between the USA Navy and Iranian Navy in the SOH. At one point, senior Iranian officials even threatened to seal off the Strait of Hormuz, which would have wreaked havoc in the oil markets. In response, USA deployed its Fifth Fleet, then stationed in Bahrain, across the Persian Gulf from Iran, to forestall such a possibility (Ho 2011). Similarly, closure of the SOM, through which flow nearly 9.4 million barrels of oil per day according to the Energy Information Administration (EIA), can affect the economies of SEA and this can impact global economy as a whole

³⁶ India Individual Interview 2.

³⁷ Abu Sayyaf is a militant Islamist separatist group based in and around the southern Philippines.

³⁸ Al Qaeda is a global militant Islamist organisation founded by Osama bin Laden.

³⁹ *Kumpulan Militan Malaysia*, also known as the Muhajidden Group of Malaysia is an terrorist group that conducts terrorist attacks on non-Muslims.

⁴⁰ *Jammah Islamiyah* is a Southeast Asian militant Islamist terrorist organisation dedicated to the creating of Daulah Islamiyah (regional Islamic caliphate) in the Southeast Asia.

⁴¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

⁴² Malaysian Individual Interview 4.

(REFERENCE). Unfortunately, along with this rise in traffic, the variety and intensity of threats, including piracy, maritime terrorism, drug trafficking, gunrunning, human smuggling, pollution, accidents and inter-state conflicts, are also expected to show a proportional rise (Zakaullah 2012).

Lying between the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, the SOBM is a strategic link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Therefore, maritime security remains a concern especially when a large number of economic and other seaborne activities are concentrated at the IOR. In the case of Malaysia-India, the IOR plays a predominant role specifically along the eastern hemisphere. This scenario encourages both Malaysia and India to cooperate in the EIOR.

4.4 China's Maritime Ambitions

The changing geopolitical condition of the IOR from a traditional point of view is also important. Specifically, the rise of China's maritime ambition is a significant driving force for MIMSC in the EIOR. Naval power remains the dominant sector where holistic maritime power is concerned, and Malaysia and India are certainly leveraging on it. The recent RIN deployments and resource allocations appear to give stronger emphasis to the Far Eastern Naval Command, and this testifies to the readiness of New Delhi to implement a greater maritime role in the EIOR.⁴³ With this development, India stated that it would focus its naval forces more with Eastern Naval Command and, as far as holistic maritime power is concerned, would expand such security provisions to other IOR states, as can be seen from the new linkages with the Maldives, Mauritius and Sri Lanka, as well as the recent supply of a patrol vessel to Mauritius, amongst other initiatives.⁴⁴

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the global scenario shifted from a bipolar to a unipolar world, the USA emerging as the *de facto* hegemonic power. The USA followed a 'forward deployment' maritime policy, terming the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and Persian Gulf 'places to which we routinely deploy naval expeditionary forces' (USA Department of the Navy 1994: 2). Thus, relying on its base in Diego Garcia and its Fifth Fleet stationed there, the USA still has the strongest military presence in the IOR.

France and Japan also have some military presence in this region. France has

⁴³ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

some bases in its overseas territories in the Indian Ocean, and its ‘bases in La Reunion, Mayotte, Djibouti and the United Arab Emirates have led to a “*quadrilatère français*” in the Indian region’ (Bruno de Paiya nd: 3). Moreover, ‘[a]s a leading military power, France’s military presence in the region could be drawn upon to ensure that its energy security requirements are addressed’ (*ibid* nd: 3). Japan set up its first foreign military base since World War II in Djibouti in July 2011, allowing Japanese aircraft to conduct patrols over the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden (Integrated Headquarters Ministry of Defense Navy nd: 35).

China is extending its diplomatic, economic and military forays into the IOR, and an overland energy pipeline as well as port projects with various IOR littoral states are designed to solve, or at least reduce, the ‘Malacca Dilemma’ by providing alternative energy routes to China and thus reducing the need for Beijing to channel its energy supplies through the Malacca Strait.⁴⁵ India is consciously looking at China’s ‘strings of pearls’ strategy and its intrusive engagement in the IOR through Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma.⁴⁶ China is now a crucial factor in the IOR. As a rising power in the Asia-Pacific region, China is a significant driver of MIMSC in the EIOR. Its maritime development around the IOR shows its interest in ensuring that its position as a maritime power is recognised.⁴⁷

The ‘Modi Doctrine’ also reflects a significant China factor. Since taking over the administration, Prime Minister Modi has been visiting several countries in the region. Strengthening ties with India’s littoral states such as Sri Lanka, Mauritius and the Maldives directly reflects his policy to tackle China’s maritime ambitions in India’s own backyard. China’s naval presence at ports such as Sri Lanka is highly criticised by India. This criticism was clearly seen during the 2014 ‘Galle Dialogue’ in Sri Lanka. During this time, the Indian National Security Advisor Ajit Doval emphasised the cooperation amongst littoral states of the IOR to continue work towards a peaceful and stable region. He also urged all the countries to continue not to allow any form of military dominance or development that may hamper the stability of the IOR.

China was the major concern behind this statement. This is because China has dominated the SCS and is slowly expanding its military presence across the IOR

⁴⁵ India Individual Interview 2.

⁴⁶ India Group Interview 2.

⁴⁷ India Individual Interview 1.

with specific focus on major littoral states near India. Its maritime friendships across the IOR are highly driven by its Malacca Dilemma and its tactical strategy – the stretching of China’s ‘string of pearls’ is seen as a form of encirclement of India. Due to the rise of China and the exponential development of its naval strength, China’s presence and influence caused enough apprehension for not only the USA to shift its focus to the East, but for other countries in Asia to be mindful of its territories. China’s greatest strength – and its greatest vulnerability – is its economy, and as for any other country, SLOCs are important for China’s trade, which is therefore the linchpin of Chinese policy and strategy (Cheng 2005: 18-19).

According to Harsh V. Pant, China’s expansionist behaviour has long been evident. China has been acquiring naval facilities along the crucial choke points in the IOR, not only to serve its economic interests but also to enhance its strategic presence in the region (Pant 2010). China’s growing reliance on bases across the IOR is a response to its perceived vulnerability, as mentioned in a secret memorandum issued fifteen years ago by the Director of the General Logistics Department of the PLA: “We can no longer accept the Indian Ocean as only an ocean of the Indians (Bodansky 1995: 6-13)”.

In discussing China’s maritime ambition in the IOR, many scholars have argued that it is driven only by commercial purposes. However, China is seen as an important determining driver, especially if one sees its maritime ambitions in the IOR as a border issue, e.g. in Sri Lanka and Myanmar.⁴⁸ Kaplan, for instance, referred back to history in understanding China’s maritime ambitions in the IOR. It was argued that during the Song and Ming dynasties, China does not have a permanent presence in the Indian Ocean ports, but built partnerships in the form of the tax system – and today China is most likely to follow the same policy (Kaplan 2010: 290). Therefore, the authors argue that China ought to follow this step in fostering security and trade relations with Pakistan and Sri Lanka. With the SOM in the soft underbelly of China, the friendships between China and these countries are only for access purposes and not for a permanent base (*ibid*: 290).

The same views were articulated by Brewster when he says that the participation of China in Pakistan and Myanmar is only for commercial purposes, and history shows no additional expansion by China beyond its coastal waters – and even if this

⁴⁸ Malaysia Group Interview 3.

were to occur, it would take a long time (Brewster 2010: 6). Jonathan Holslag also emphasises these points: firstly China's 'string of pearls' along its sea lines of communication is more of a network of commercial ports than military ones (Holslag 2008: 23), and India is consciously looking at China's 'string of pearls' strategy and its intrusive engagement in the IOR through Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar.⁴⁹ Secondly, Holslag suggests there are other ways by which China could counterbalance India.

Therefore, it would be mistaken to argue that China's maritime presence in the region is to openly counter India. China's engagement in the IOR could dilute India's power projection in the IOR, thus creating a potential threat for India. Although it is wise to see China's attempt to exert maritime power as a threat to India's maritime position in the IOR, China just like the USA, Japan and Australia are seeking a role and position in the region. It is seeking accessibility in this sphere because of the growing focus on the IOR in the 21st century. Even so, the IOR by no means represents a trump card for China (Holmes, Winner and Yoshihara 2009: 142). China's interest is only in trade in the IOR security scenario.⁵⁰

However, in an anarchic world where conflicts are common, China's maritime presence in the region should not be taken lightly. For example, Gwadar could represent both a new economic gateway and a military stance for China during a crisis. Taking into consideration Mahan's view on using the seaport as a form of defensive platform during times of war, Gwadar has all the characteristics in terms of strategic positioning, the strength (defensibility) and resources. It can act as a strategic protection - and from a military point of view, it is useful to control the commercial and military traffic through a critical bottleneck, the SOH.

China cannot have full control over the IOR port, but access to a fair market can be a great asset in times of crisis. Corbett explains that trade sanctions are an attempt to stop the flow of maritime commerce and deny the enemy the use of commercial communications (Corbett 2004: 185). He also maintains that trade embargos have an intimate relationship with the naval blockade, and the most effective use of sanctions to strangle the flow of events in the country afloat (Corbett 2004: 186-187). The following analysis of China's 'string of pearls' strategy will reflect Corbett's argument.

⁴⁹ India Individual Interview 1.

⁵⁰ India Individual Interview 3.

Map 7: China's String of Pearls in the Indian Ocean Region



Source: www.isj.org.uk

China's first pearl is in Pakistan. India has the resources to impose a naval blockade off the coast of Pakistan, but this is being protected and garrisoned by China. In addition, China has had assistance in the construction of a naval base in Gwadar, which will have the advantage of monitoring the activities of the USA and India in the Arabian Sea and the Gulf. In economic terms, this port is a weakness for the cooperation of India-Iran-Russia Multimodal Transport links in Chabahar, on the Gulf of Omar coast of Iran.

The second pearl is in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is the shortest bypass route to Kunming. A strong combination of China-Pakistan-Bangladesh can affect India and its Siliguri Corridor. Other similar concerns for India in its own backyard are China's USD1 billion project at Hambantota Port Project, the Kra Canal Project and the deepwater ports in Laem Chabang in Thailand, deep-sea port in Cambodia and Sihanoukville naval base in Marao, Maldives (Mohan 2010).

In the SEA region, China has also attempted to threaten India. In Myanmar, China's National Petroleum Corp has begun construction on two natural gas pipelines connecting Kyaukpyu and Rili. China also has naval bases on the Hainggyi Island near the Irrawaddy River Delta and Akyab and Mergui on the Bay of Bengal. The most significant facility is on Zadetkyi Kyun Island off the Kra Isthmus, which connects the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) submarines to their home base. At Great Coco Island and the Alexandra Channel, China has developed an electronic intelligence system to monitor Indian naval activities off the Andaman

Islands and traffic at the Straits of Malacca (Mohan 2010). Chinese maritime development in the IOR projects China's ambitious maritime policy to maximise power in the region. This in turn has disturbed India's position as a predominant power in the region.

Nearly 90 per cent of Chinese arms sales go to countries located in the IOR. As mentioned above, Beijing is investing heavily in developing the Gwadar deep-sea port in Pakistan, and naval bases in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. The concept of 'string of pearls' is often used to reflect China's maritime involvement in these countries. But whether one calls it a 'string of pearls' or a series of maritime platforms which can be used for both an economic getaway or military bases, it has threatened India's position in the IOR. New Delhi is also shaping its own set of friendships with similar littoral states, but it has projected a more benign role which can be seen through both bilateral and multilateral platforms, e.g. through the IONS, to ensure that if the military need arises, the necessary support infrastructure and network will be in place (Malik 2012). Nevertheless, China's behaviour in the IOR is a vital factor for India's maritime ambitions in the EIOR.

For Malaysia the nature of its relationship with China reflects its level of concern and its drive to engage deeply with India on the maritime domain in the EIOR. Malaysia's friendship with China is currently in a positive phase; however its relationship is in a constant state of rivalry, specifically on the disputed islands in the SCS. This is in complete contrast to India, whereby both Malaysia and India have been projecting strong and benign foreign policy engagements. Malaysia's stand at SCS vis-à-vis China – e.g. the James Shoal case – helps us to understand Malaysia's maritime behaviour in the EIOR.⁵¹ The constant contest over the Spratly Islands between Malaysia, China and the other littoral states of SCS could impact Malaysia's stance and its point of view on China's overall maritime ambitions in the EIOR and its focus on SCS compared to the EIOR. But it could actually drive a stronger engagement with India in order to counterbalance the force of China's maritime expansion in the region. A common interest in ensuring China's maritime power balance in the EIOR could lead to MIMSC in the EIOR. As both Malaysia and India are seeking new opportunities for a comprehensive framework of MIMSC in the EIOR, China's maritime ambitions will be a significant factor.

⁵¹ India Group Interview 1.

4.5 Economic Significance

The IOR and its littoral states formed the centre of some of the oldest trade connectivity routes throughout history. With the shift towards the IOR as a vital area for economic activities, countries throughout the world have concentrated on this place for various reasons: trade activities, competition for raw materials and other resources such as energy especially amongst developing countries. Along with this shift also are the emerging Asian powers in the region such as India and China as well as the Asian Tigers in SEA such as Malaysia and Singapore, which have compelled western countries to give extra focus to the region. This has also contributed to the shift of global focus towards the IOR.

In the case of Malaysia-India, India is a large market in the EIOR, thus the diverse diplomatic maritime commitments influence the MIMSC.⁵² Malaysia is also a significant partner for India; Malaysia is the third largest trading partner for India within ASEAN – and India is the largest trading partner for Malaysia and many other countries in the region.⁵³ A range of agreements has been signed, such as the Malaysia–India Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA), covering goods and services as well as investment. Others are the Revised Double Taxation in 2012 and an MOU on Field of Customs in 2013.⁵⁴

Map 8: World Oil Chokepoints in the Indian Ocean Region



Source: U.S Department of Energy/ Energy Information Administration

⁵² Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

⁵³ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

⁵⁴ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

Like the discussion on geographical proximity, this also leads both countries to perceive the EIOR as a natural medium for economic purposes. The sea has always been the easiest and the cheapest way of transporting goods for trade. Malaysia's maritime imports account for almost 80 per cent of its trade, while its maritime exports account for 78 per cent (Harun, Wan Abdullah and Abu Hassan 2004: 123). Of this amount, more than half of Malaysia's GDP is generated through maritime foreign trade (Harun, Wan Abdullah and Abu Hassan 2004: 123). For example, three quarters of China's maritime imports and a quarter of its imports come from South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan, passing via the deep-water Lombok Strait, near the eastern end of Java.

Of Japan's total exports and imports, 40 per cent goes through the Malacca–Spratly route (Harun, Wan Abdullah and Abu Hassan 2004: 123), thus going through Malaysia's home passage and the territorial waters claimed by the country. For Australians and New Zealanders, Malacca and the passage through Malacca are the preferred routes for commercial activities. Although commercial activities of USA in SEA cover only 3.3 per cent of the imports and 4.5 per cent of the exports from the region (Harun, Wan Abdullah and Abu Hassan 2004: 123), this does not mean that the SEA is not important to the USA. The American economy is highly dependent upon trading activities in the IOR. In addition to this, Malaysian ports handle almost 77 per cent of these countries' imports and exports (Harun, Wan Abdullah and Abu Hassan 2004: 123). Apart from maritime trade in general, the gas and oil sectors are vital to Malaysia, and important areas such as Pulau Layang-Layang, Miri and Bintulu make a significant contribution in terms of oil revenue to the growth of the Malaysian economy. This is of great significance to Malaysia, which may potentially face threats and disruptions, making it certainly the highest scorer of the major maritime policy issues in Malaysia, and further raising interests in the IOR.

For India, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands situated close to the SOM, are rich in minerals, which should be an added strength to India's economy, as it is believed that their undersea oil and gas fields will go on to be explored (Jarocki 2012). These minerals could benefit the region's population and impact the raw materials policy of the Indian government, whose energy demands increase every year (Jarocki 2012). The increasing activity on the islands will also intensify economic cooperation with

other adjacent neighbourhoods in the EIOR, especially Malaysia, which plays a major role in the safety and security of SOM. As economic cooperation increases, the need to secure the SLOCs around these islands will be an important agenda for both Malaysia and India's policy makers. More maritime policy implementation will take place, and future cooperation between both Malaysia and India is expected.

The geographical proximity of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the SOM in the EIOR is a major area of interest for the economic development of both countries. India's central position in the IOR is a unique position – especially situated adjacent to the SOM in the east, and the SOH and the Gulf of Aden in the west. This aspect becomes clearer on revisiting the USA's definition of Asia-Pacific. The definition includes the IOR as 'strategic importance of the energy resources and trade that pass through the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca before reaching the manufacturing centers of East Asia' (Parmar 2014). It is evident from recent writings that USA has been looking at the IOR as an emerging area of strategic Interest (Parmar 2014).

However, the issue of economic prosperity is an area of grave concern. As India moved into the post-Cold War era, its overriding urge to reform its economy was a difficult goal to achieve. The long dictatorship of the British seriously affected India's economic condition. India's overdependence on the USSR left India in instant weakness with the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union. This worsened the economic landscape of India. The Cold War conspiracy had left India with no friends, and as a result the country had to struggle to develop its out-dated economy by itself. Yet India has many advantages: a large land mass and population, a huge economy and in terms of strategic positioning, India is a vital power for many countries in the IOR. Although this is the case, India still faces struggles in terms of fulfilling the basic needs of its people such as lack of food security, health and education, and inadequate infrastructure.

The issue of poverty is a classic example of the fundamental problems in India. According to the United Nations Development Report (UNDP), out of a population of 1.25 billion, 32.68 per cent are living on less than USD1.25 per person per day.⁵⁵ These people are especially found in sub-Saharan Africa and southern Asia. India has the largest population with hunger, and it is a cause of serious alarm. It also has

⁵⁵ United Nation Human Development Report. Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/IND>. (20th January 2015).

the largest population of children with a low birth weight, and requires significant improvements in reducing hunger and food security (Sinha 2012). To add to this burden, India is the second most populous country with a population of 1.22 billion. It is estimated that with the population growth rate at 1.58 per cent, India is expected to have over 1.53 billion people by the end of 2030.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, the Malaysian Human Development Report (MHDP) 2013 commissioned by the UN says that although the city of Putrajaya claimed to have successfully reduced absolute poverty to 1.7 per cent in 2012, relative poverty has now emerged as a growing concern.⁵⁷ Based on the report, the absolute poverty line was fixed at RM763, but the relative poverty scores at RM1,813 projected a huge gap.⁵⁸ 'If poverty is measured using the relative poverty rate as suggested in the New Economic Model, about 20% of Malaysian households are considered poor.'⁵⁹

There is an urgent need for security cooperation amongst the littoral states, especially relating to the access of resources in the IOR. With all focus on the IOR, the level of conflicts are also expected to rise both within state, regional as well as amongst external regional powers.

The economic development of a state is closely linked to its trade and energy supply. Since most trade of the IOR littorals and the south Asian states is seaborne, SLOCs form the lifeline of these countries. The IOR is home to three critical SLOSs used for global energy transportation. Two of them, the SOH leading out of the Gulf, and the SOM linking the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, are two of the world's most strategic choke points. An enormous volume of international long-haul maritime cargo from the Gulf, Africa and Europe transits this ocean. Some of the primary items transported are energy products, mainly oil and gas. The disruption of these SLOSs, even temporarily, could lead to substantial increases in energy costs. Disruption in energy lifelines can also arise from patterns of trade flows. Imports to south Asia from west Asia utilise the SOH; closure of that strait would practically cut off Gulf supplies to the east altogether, and also affect the west considerably (Ho 2011).

Due to competition over energy, the IOR is labelled as an intensified area for

⁵⁶ Retrieved from <http://defenceforumindia.com/forum/threads/indias-population-2012.30771/> (15th August 2012).

⁵⁷ Malaysia Human Development Report 1970-2012. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/mhdr_2013.pdf (20th January 2014).

⁵⁸ Malaysia Human Development Report 1970-2012. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/mhdr_2013.pdf. (20th January 2014).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

political competition. The global demand for energy is growing, and the IOR – specifically the Middle Eastern part of it – contains most of the known oil reserves in the world and is the largest exporter of crude oil. Oil is an important element in the geopolitical IOR and has been the ‘backbone’ of the American model of modern civilisation since the First World War, and is the most strategic resource in conducting war. Since the Second World War, the USA has demonstrated a desire to control the oil resources in the Gulf, because of the growing need for it and because of China’s growing interest in it. The IOR is therefore of great mutual interest to the USA and India, and it is of growing importance for traders in other energy commodities by sea (e.g. LPG and uranium).

Energy supplies that run through the IOR remain an important element in the past and will be in the future too. The rising energy demand for economic prowess opens up possibilities especially for big powers that aim to become a superior military power. This also compels countries to compete, ensuring that questions of security and stability will remain a concern. The Gulf is the major focus for oil supply and any disruption to this area will cause the entire chain of global energy supply to be interrupted.

This competition has brought about another major maritime challenge, namely resource scarcity. As China and India develop to become an economic power with great military capability, both countries will continue to be dependent on the Middle East and Africa. Both are actively seeking to forge closer defence and security ties with resource supplying nations (e.g. Saudi Arabia and Iran). China has especially geared up its game and drawn closer to these countries, also by investing in its littoral state economies, building ports and infrastructure, providing weaponry and acquiring energy resources.

China is the world’s number two oil consumer and has accounted for 40 per cent of the growth in the world’s crude oil demand since the year 2000 (Pant 2010). Since oil connects closely to its economy, as is the case with any other country, China has been shaping its economic policy based on this need. In the process, China has been building strong alliances and friendships with vital powers in the IOR.

During the colonial era, the IOR as the birthplace of maritime civilisation, was considered a playground for rich, industrial European nations. In the 21st century however, it has become a key strategic arena. The main reason is the growth of the East Asian economies and their ever-increasing need for raw materials, including

energy from the Middle East, that fuels their economic growth. The ocean covers a surface area of some 73,600,000 km² with a coastline of 66,526 km (Howell nd). It has many choke points, such as the SOH, SOM and Singapore and the SOBM. As the international energy market is dependent on reliable transport, even a temporary blockage of a choke point can lead to a substantial increase in total energy costs. Hence, the disruption of energy flows is a huge security concern for both its littoral states and the international community, as most of their energy lifelines are sea-based and the IOR plays a vital role in world oil production and global maritime trade. The high demand for energy resources in both Malaysia and India encourages their positive drive towards stronger maritime security cooperation in areas of the EIOR.

Their current internal atmospheres have led both Malaysia and India to build a strong economic relationship for the wellbeing and development of their people. At the same time, both countries have also understood that strong economic connectivity where they are mostly dependent on the sea requires strong maritime power. They should have the ability to protect and garrison the water from threats and provide a peaceful environment for a sustainable economy.

With their long coastlines, both countries also face huge challenges from the sea and need the cooperation of both navies and maritime enforcement agencies to ensure smooth economic transactions. This naturally creates positive interaction by both powers in the IOR, with a strong focus on the EIOR. In the EIOR, the mutual area of cooperation would be the safe navigation of SOM because both Malaysia and India are situated adjacent to this geographical area; the busiest water route in the world thus gives great importance to sea challenges for both nations in the EIOR. In addition, the safety of SLOCs around the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, close to the SOM, is also the concern of navies of both Malaysia and India, encouraging them to seek stronger cooperation to ensure preservation of their maritime interests. Economic consideration is a traditional common ground for both Malaysia and India, making it a natural driver for MIMSC in the EIOR. Factors that influence state interaction may differ under different circumstances but the economic factor has always been an underlying one for state interaction. Utilising the sea as a medium of communication for economic development is a norm, and it sets the trend of MIMSC in EIOR.

4.6 Maritime Significance

Malaysia and India's desire for maritime power are important drivers for MIMSC in the EIOR. Geographical proximity and economic development form a natural condition for state interaction; but if a state seeks power in the global system, it has to work for it. This attitude is vital in an anarchic world, and MIMSC in the EIOR is not possible without a strong determination to rise to become an important maritime power. This is the fundamental element for a closer and comprehensive MIMSC in the EIOR.

As mentioned above, until the end of the 20th century, the IOR had been a predominant area of competition for maritime powers from the western world. Following the discovery of Vasco da Gama from Portugal, major maritime powers such as the Dutch, French and British often visited the IOR. It soon became an area for economic interchange as well as power rivalries amongst countries because of its strategic location and also its economic resources.

This situation also shows that India had abandoned its sea prowess in its own backyard, which led to the dominance of western maritime powers in the IOR. This maritime blindness was criticised by Chitrapu Uday Bhaskar, a retired Indian Navy commodore, who chided India for being uniquely 'maritime-blind' throughout much of its history (Pannikar nd: 14). K. M. Panikkar, the father of Indian maritime history, also postulated that although there had been invasions and conquests of India and its land, India never lost her independence until she lost control of the sea in the first decade of the 16th century (*ibid*: 100). Thus, he argued that the future of India was determined not by the land but by the oceanic expanse which washes the two sides of India (*ibid*: 100). This mind-set has changed dramatically and today, India shares its policy narrative on defence strategy in the IOR with the USA and the EU.⁶⁰

India's position in the SEA region is unique, and SEA is balanced more or less equally between India and China.⁶¹ India is considered a key player in the IOR because not only is it seen as a nation that can counter the influence of China and its 'strings of pearls', but also, most fundamentally, it houses one of the most important oceans of the world, the IOR. Malaysia needs to show more active involvement and interest in India; it should recognise India's role as a rising power in ensuring

⁶⁰ India Individual Interview 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

maritime interest in the EIOR, and value India's involvement on maritime issues.⁶² Even taking the SCS into account, according to Y. J. Sithara and N. Fernando, there is little doubt that the IOR will be the new pivot of 21st century geopolitics. Malaysia should therefore show more commitment to recognising India as a major and crucial power, to create a new power structure in the EIOR region.

India has declared its blue water navy strategy, and it is up to the nations of SEA to seek their opportunities. Malaysia acknowledges India as a regional power; it has emphasised that India is Malaysia's very important traditional partner, in comparison to China. However, no policies have been implemented. This could be the reason behind Malaysia's consistent focus on China rather than on India, as India reflects benign maritime behaviour. This does not mean that India will only be noticed if it projects coercive behaviour, but it is vital for both states to work together towards more realistic policy implementation, reflecting more serious cooperation in the EIOR. India is a natural friend to Malaysia, and taking into consideration India and China's contest in the IOR, a stronger relationship could be shaped by Malaysia, especially in maritime affairs, as it has a sense of universality compared with other armed forces.

Neither Malaysia nor India have any disputes comparable to that of China, which is claiming the Spratly Islands. There are three pivotal factors that would ensure global fixation on the IOR: first, the IOR is the locus of traditional trade routes and has contemporary importance in terms of being the dominant route for the transport of hydro-carbon resources for a large number of states, especially China (the largest importer of energy through this route); second, the IOR is critical in the rise of non-traditional threats to security such as piracy and drug trafficking; and third, it poses continuing significance as an arena of big power competition (Acharya 2012). In the current globalised world, states realise the importance of the sea, and the challenges that can arise from it. The sea has become an everyday playground in the 21st century, for both traditional and non-traditional activities, by which most states began to develop their own versions of maritime definitions by which to classify themselves as maritime nations. This situation is common, especially in states like Malaysia and India that have long coastlines.

In terms of natural conditions, both Malaysia and India are maritime-driven

⁶² Ibid.

powers. The Indian coastline stretches for about 5,700 km on the mainland (nine states and two union territories) and about 7,500 km along two island groups that include Lakshadweep and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In addition, most of India's states rely on trade by sea, the maritime industry and other economic fields, and sea borders are close to major SLOCs in the IOR. Its geographical dimensions at sea, open to waters at both sides, its long coastlines and the presence of islands, makes India a natural maritime nation.

Using the same approach, Malaysia is also a maritime country. Malaysia's maritime region covers an area of 614.159 km², which is comprised of the South China Sea, Sulu Sea and Celebes Sea, the Straits of Singapore and the Gulf of Thailand (Basiron 2012: 72). All these sea passages overlap the waters surrounding Malaysia. Moreover, Malaysia also encompasses one of the busiest international trading routes, the SOM. The highest number of ships and volume of ships pass through the SOM, and this is indirectly responsible for shaping Malaysia's maritime policy. In addition, the Malaysian coast extends approximately 4675 km, consisting of 2,068 km in peninsular Malaysia, plus 2,607 km ⁶³ in East Malaysia, whose landmass is twice the size of peninsular Malaysia (Basiron 2012: 72).

However, this is not the only way by which a nation may be categorised as a maritime nation or have a strong maritime policy that is competent. The most crucial question lies in its desire for maritime power in the overall maritime power game. Overall, India has the potential and energy to project a great amount of power, particularly in the EIOR. India has desired to become a great economic power as well as develop strong defence, but has never taken the steps necessary to advance these aims. India has the potential capabilities and resources but they are underutilized and irregular. Although it may be suggested that the possession of nuclear energy means that the country has the potential to become a great power, in the case of India, this is not the case. It may instead be argued that unless and until India can influence countries to comply with India's demands and desire, be valuable in big international organisations and have a say in security matters worldwide, for example gaining a permanent seat at the UNSC, and set aside its internal weaknesses, its hopes to be a great power will not be achieved.

⁶³ Retrieved from <http://www.indexmundi.com/malaysia/coastline.html>. (20th June 2013).

Although this is the ultimate goal in the long run, in the current context of IR, India is not focusing on these aims. Chinmaya R. Charekhan, former Indian Ambassador to the UN, believes that the title is a myth and that the government of India does not seem particularly concerned with this recognition. At the current stage, India is more interested and in fact focused on pushing its economic status towards a more sustainable position. It is in the minds of the Indian that, unless and until India can reach great economic prowess and especially reduce the levels of poverty in the country, then can India work towards other national goals. Therefore, it is proposed that India only has enough power to resist the influence of others, but has not made much progress before it can achieve greater power over other states (Perkovich 2004: 129-130). Getting India 'right' would be a manifestation of great global power; failing to meet these aspirations would consign India to remain in the middle rank (Perkovich 2004: 129-130).

India has the all the capabilities to ensure the safety and stability of the region, but its behaviour does not appear to be aiming at projecting a coercive or dominating effect in the region. India has been seen as a stable and responsible power, but does not show dominance. It has never showed, or indeed projected, maritime conflict with any country. It shows good maritime governance capabilities, and India will soon lead, as it is a responsible power. Yet it has not been anywhere near the Atlantic. It has the capabilities to project maritime power in the IOR, but globally it has no need to cross the IOR (Perkovich 2004: 129-130). Its maritime capability is only enough to ensure the safety of its national territory. India has far more potential to respond to other navies compared with its past performance, but it has no intent to project global power, except as a responsible power (Perkovich 2004: 129-130).

The idea that the Indian Ocean is India's ocean is a misconception.⁶⁴ It is correct merely to say that the Indian Ocean is India's underbelly, and maritime security and the safety and peaceful environment of major SLOCs in the IOR are vital for its national interests to be preserved.⁶⁵ Any discord in the IOR is a direct threat to India's national interests and sovereignty, but there is no proclamation that India owns the Indian Ocean.⁶⁶ India understands its responsibility as the major maritime power in the IOR. It has, unlike the Chinese, openly expressed its blue water

⁶⁴ India Group Interview 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

ambitions, which demonstrates India's benign behaviour.

India is seeking support from the littoral states of the IOR, and Malaysia's views of the IOR and Asia-Pacific will affect its overall view of India's role in the larger context of the Indo-Pacific region,⁶⁷ which will be a unique case, as it can be balanced equally between India and China. Malaysia should not forget that India is a vital power in the Indian Ocean, and one cannot ignore India's involvement when it comes to the Indian Ocean.⁶⁸ India is one maritime nation that Malaysia cannot avoid in the geopolitical scenario of the EIOR.⁶⁹ Malaysia, as a vital power at the SOM, cannot ignore India's role as a defender or protector of SOM in the EIOR.

India's role has great and enduring potential, because it is regarded as an indispensable partner of ASEAN for a number of reasons: as a net security provider using its comparatively larger resource capacity, as it did for the tsunami disaster relief and the MH370 search-and-locate mission; not to mention its value as a partner in the SOM.⁷⁰ ASEAN countries see India as a leading power, which has projected good maritime governance capability; and India will soon lead, as it is seen as a responsible power in the region. Singapore and Indonesia show signs of respect to India's position in the region, and Malaysia may need India as an emerging power in ensuring the safety of SOM waters.⁷¹

On the other hand, Malaysia is known as an average power in the region. This can be justified because Malaysia is defined as the region's third richest country. However, from the point of view of India it looks like a small power, with limited economic and military capabilities. Also, Malaysia requires the assistance of other forces in terms of security. This means that Malaysia is defined as a state that cannot be influenced or resolve security issues in international fora. Therefore, Malaysia is keen to boost its economic development to strengthen its internal situation and international terms. Malaysia has difficulty expressing its interest in the international arena, and therefore views ASEAN as the cornerstone of Malaysia's foreign interactions, to enable it to make a significant impact on the international system.

Hence, with such limitations it is vital for Malaysia to accept India's leading position. This realisation is important for shaping new policies under MIMSC and

⁶⁷ India Group Interview 2.

⁶⁸ India Group Interview 1.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

⁷¹ India Group Interview 2.

even strengthening the current maritime cooperation in the EIOR by mitigating security concerns, both traditional and non-traditional. Malaysia requires both the capabilities and the strategic interest for more proactive engagement, and needs to strengthen its attitude on security matters and draw a broader vision like its neighbouring country Indonesia. President Joko Widodo has had a very positive vision of Indonesia's maritime policy since he over the administration.⁷² Malsindo, a trilateral antipiracy patrol force started in 2004 by the navies of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore, was active for three years, following which it seemed to stagnate. The Malaysian navy lacks equipment, and a focus on logistics is vital to create a shift in the relationship. It has been argued that the time has come for Malaysia to look west to India whilst India is looking east or acting east.⁷³ The maritime domain is flexible, and cooperation is easier and hence should be used as an opportunity for MIMSC in EIOR. Although India's maritime significance and maritime position have been identified and suggested as a vital driver of MIMSC in the EIOR, MIMSC is also heavily dependent on Malaysia's proactive engagement and its positive response towards India's maritime role in the EIOR. Malaysia's receptive behaviour will determine a much more resilient MIMSC in the EIOR.

India, on the other hand, also needs to respect and recognise Malaysia's position and wishes in the EIOR. Malaysia lost Pedra Branca to Singapore; this hit hard, and Malaysia will try its best to defend the Spratly Islands, a move that is likely to influence its policy with China.⁷⁴ SCS is in the interest of Malaysia as it has issues that overlap with those of the IOR.⁷⁵ Today, it is more plausible to see the Malaysian government remaining more focused on issues in the SCS in particular.⁷⁶ Malaysia argues that any diplomatic cooperation is sought only for the safety and security of SLOCs in SOM, not to dominate or project power in these areas.⁷⁷ Malaysia would accept any form of assistance from India as long as it accords with the NAM policy and helps Malaysia improve its maritime power.⁷⁸ It is the responsibility of Malaysia-Singapore and Indonesia to make major maritime decisions in the SOM, and other ships or vessels intending to carry military missions through it should seek

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ India Group Interview 1.

⁷⁴ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

⁷⁷ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

⁷⁸ Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

Malaysia's permission.⁷⁹

Hence, in order to seek responsive cooperation from Malaysia, India should support and project a more positive engagement with Malaysia in the EIOR. Prime Minister Modi has announced the Act East Policy to accelerate diplomatic commitments in strategic economic and security partnerships.⁸⁰ Modi's Act East Policy has replaced the LEP, and has been viewed as a promising policy by the Malaysians.⁸¹ It should not just involve engagement but also create conditions⁸² that will win Malaysia's trust and confidence over India's involvement and presence in the SOM. India needs to create the conditions, and have a clear policy prescription, for maritime security issues in LEP facing Malaysia in SCS and SOM.⁸³ Such clarity will attract a much stronger and more resilient drive for MIMSC in the EIOR.

Although Malaysia is a small power, there are a few strong characteristics of such a small power that could be utilised by India in shaping its policy and maritime interactions in EIOR. It is said that small forces conducive to good relations amongst the great powers and small powers is likely to generate a positive-sum game between the major powers, which could come at the expense of smaller power. Its existence can save power relations, which can be used as tradable goods, like chips at the table, in order to settle the outcome of a great power war or prevent a new one (Kuik and Lee 2008: 6). In some cases, small independent neutral power can abolish the superpower competition (Kuik and Lee 2008: 7). The geographical position of small forces can also act as a springboard for other powers either store resources or expand their sphere of influence in counter-balance enemy. Malaysia, as a small power, is believed to reflect this behaviour.

SOM is the busiest trade route in the world, and it is vital for India's maritime interest due to its strategic location in SEA waters.⁸⁴ It is a vital location as it connects east and west. India may need Malaysia, as India has no power in the SOM, making it vital to have a positive engagement with Malaysia. Malaysia is a maritime power in the SEA region and the big powers cannot ignore the importance of Malaysia in the SOM.⁸⁵ There is economic and political interdependence between

⁷⁹ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

⁸⁰ India Individual Interview 1.

⁸¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

⁸² India Group Interview 2.

⁸³ Malaysia Group Interview 3.

⁸⁴ India Group Interview 1.

⁸⁵ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

India and Malaysia when seen in the overall context of all these issues together. Even though Malaysia and China are potential partners in this regard, the closest of all is still Malaysia, thanks to its natural geographical proximity. As such, an eastward focus of India's maritime efforts are of greater imperative. Malaysia is certainly a natural close partner where SLOC security is concerned.⁸⁶ These imperatives should be utilised by India to create a stronger MIMSC in the EIOR.

As much as Malaysia needs to recognise India's role as a regional power in the EIOR, it is important for India, too, to recognise Malaysia's prominent role in the SOM. India's attempt to create neutrality in SOM with a major focus on ensuring the safety of SLOCs will win Malaysia's vote in the maritime domain. Malaysia is also highly dependent on India's reaction towards China's behaviour in the SCS. India's smart policy of NAM, and its policy choice in the case of Malaysia's claim over the disputed islands, will determine Malaysia's maritime strategy options. Malaysia's maritime relations with India are tied to its engagement with India in addressing any Chinese action in the SCS over the disputed islands.⁸⁷

4.7 Conclusion

The IOR is facing more fragmented and diversified security threats, which may persist for a long time due to current demographic trends. The IOR is a 'sea of troubles'. Under these circumstances, the three most important stakeholders in the IOR – the USA, India and China – share the responsibility of maintaining regional stability and progress. India is a benign power; benign engagement by China is not a threat, and China is rather seen as a strategic partner in the IOR.⁸⁸ Regional instability will only damage their interests. The USA is deeply engaged in the anti-terrorism war, and India is itself plagued by a rough India–Pakistan relationship and the worsening Pakistani situation. The Pakistan factor also deters India from projecting a coercive outlook in the region.⁸⁹ Foreseeable changes in the international geopolitical scenario in Asia would encompass the following: questions about the USA's commitment to its espoused Asia-Pacific 'pivot' or 'rebalancing', as well as growing forays by other interested extra-regional powers in the region, such as Japan.

⁸⁶ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

⁸⁷ India Individual Interview 3.

⁸⁸ India Group Interview 1.

⁸⁹ Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

These may provide potential opportunities for India to seek a bigger role – diplomatic, economic and security – which means avenues for India to utilise its maritime power.⁹⁰ Relatively speaking, China is not as severely affected by regional instability, although its energy and trade routes are increasingly facing serious threats. Hence, China is seen more as a potential threat than a real one,⁹¹ as its power projection in the IOR, if not militarisation, is no threat to India. The two important principles of Chinese foreign policy are a good neighbourhood and a harmonious ocean, which calls for China to play a more active role in maintaining regional peace and tranquillity. This should act as an advantage to India.

As much as India should realise this condition, Malaysia should also understand this scenario and attempt to strike a balance in its position between India and China. In this case it is engaging more closely in a proactive manner with India, and at the same time recognising efforts by other big powers that seek a peaceful role in the EIOR. Focusing merely on SCS and not the EIOR is an immature policy choice. Seeking stronger engagement with India in the EIOR will positively reflect on China's behaviour in SCS and it may draw a more settled policy. It also allows India to practise its IOR policies across the region, and allows Malaysia to see Indian maritime policy in action. Through this proactive engagement, both Malaysia and India will be able to build more trust and confidence, and this will drive a positive outcome of MIMSC in the EIOR.

The next chapter discusses the MIMSC and mitigation of traditional maritime threats in the EIOR.

⁹⁰ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

⁹¹ India Group Interview 1.

CHAPTER 5

MALAYSIA–INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION AND THE MITIGATION OF TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

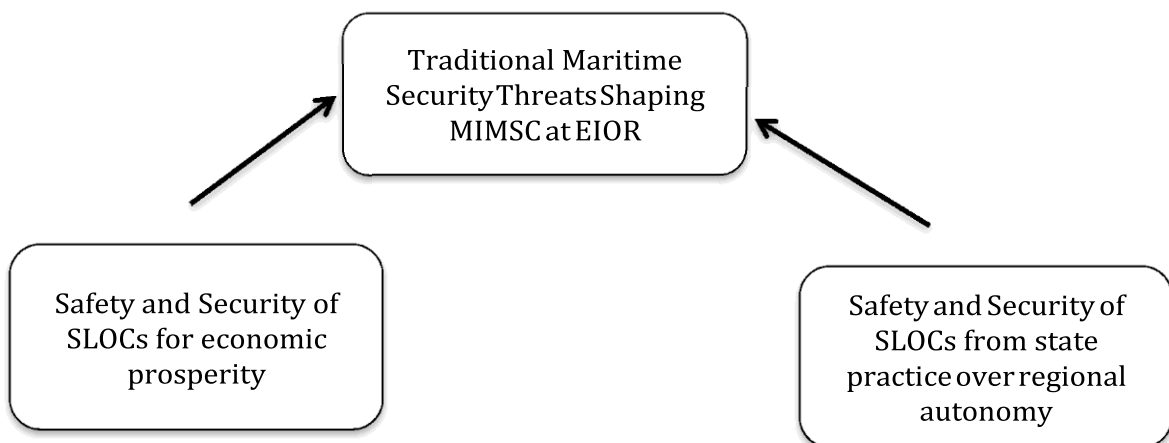
5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the MIMSC and the mitigation of traditional security threats in the EIOR. It has two sections: first it discusses the traditional threats faced by both Malaysia and India. Looking at these threats, both Malaysia and India have expressed concern over SLOCs as a major maritime concern that they have in common. The second section discusses the emerging areas of MIMSC in order to secure the safety and security of SLOCs in the EIOR.

5.2 Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia–India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region

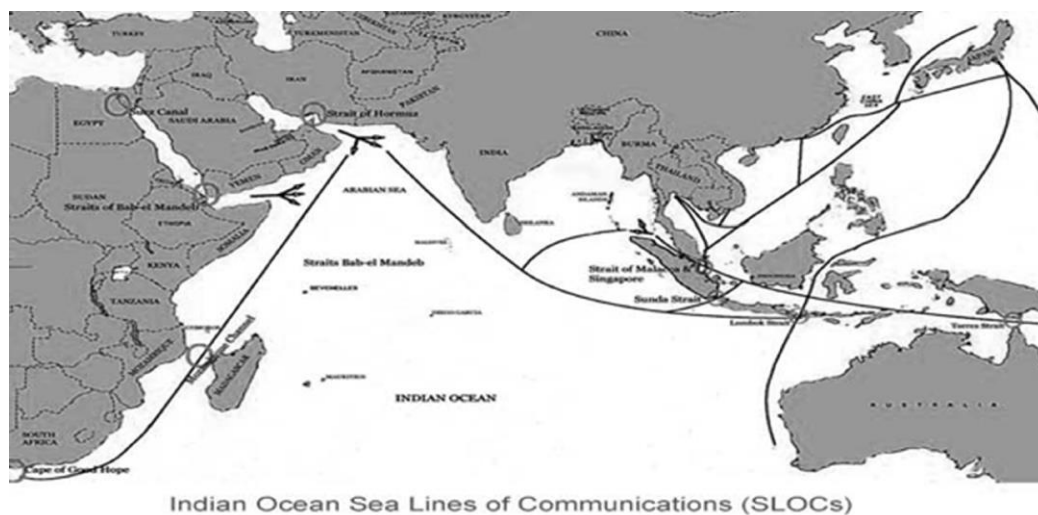
This section will discuss the common traditional threats that are shaping MIMSC in the EIOR. The first issue concerns the safety and security of SLOCs for economic prosperity, and the second concerns safety and security of SLOCs from state practice over regional autonomy.

**Diagram 2: Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia–India
Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region**



5.21 *Safety and Security of Sea Lines of Communication for Economic Prosperity*

Map 9: Major Sea Lines of Communication in the Indian Ocean Region



Source: indiandefencereview.com

Shielding and protecting the SLOCs has been an important maritime concern that has been shared between Malaysia and India in the EIOR, especially from the perspective of economic prosperity, as the major economic commodities of the world pass along these shipping lanes.⁹² As mentioned earlier, the IOR is probably the origin of maritime civilisation, and was viewed as an economic playground by rich industrial European countries during the pioneer period.

During the Cold War, temporary internal clashes occurred between states but this did not stop the newly independent states from continuing to support and treasure the IOR as a sphere of vital influence for the development of economic wellbeing. Hence all littoral states worked together to ensure that collective maritime security was present around the IOR. The post-Cold War period has generated a similar scenario amongst littoral states especially with the effects of globalisation. This has prompted the upgrading of oceanic security.

On the question of provincial exchanges, the IOR can be termed ‘the lifeline of the global economy’ and is essential to every nation’s economic advantage. It also boasts of extensive stores of energy and other assets, including oil, gas, seabed mineral assets and fish. The economic advancement of a state is closely connected to

⁹² India Individual Interview 2.

its exchanges and energy supplies. Since the majority of the exchange of IOR littorals and the south Asian states is seaborne, the SLOCs are the lifelines of these nations. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Report, 'Survey of Maritime Transport 2000', notes that the world's ocean-based exchange recorded its 14th consecutive yearly expansion, and that Asia contributes a huge amount of import and fare value to overall exchanges.⁹³ Therefore, the income from seaborne trade is expected to increase tremendously in this sphere of influence.

The IOR comprises major SLOCs and has several vital maritime choke points used for seaborne trade activities such as cargo transportation, oil and gas transport and other vital economic exchanges. Any form of interruption in these energy lifelines can impact the overall trade flow patterns and cause disorder to the international trade system. With regard to vital choke points such as the SOH, SOM, SOBM, and the Lombok and Sunda Straits, any disturbance in the shipping movements coursing through these vulnerable points could have disastrous outcomes. The interruption of sea lines of energy, which are usually sea routes in particular, has huge security consequences amongst the affected littoral states. Since the availability of energy affects the geo-political policies of a country, any reduction in its supply results in genuine security issues. Given the rising interest in energy in countries like Malaysia and India, it is certain that these two countries are in constant watch over the security of the SLOCs and the choke points of the region.

IOR waters are of great importance to the planet's oil shipments, mass freight movements and a large proportion of its container shipments. Out of the seven world oil chokepoints, four are in the IOR, including the SOH and SOM, the Suez Canal and SOBM. According to the US Energy Information Administration (EIA), the SOH recorded a transit volume of 15.4 million barrels of oil per day in 1998.⁹⁴ As mentioned earlier, any closure of SOH would practically cut off Gulf supplies to the East altogether, and also seriously affect the West. As for SOM, the safety of the SLOCs especially SOM, is vital for Malaysia, as it is the busiest trade route in the world.⁹⁵ Another vital factor to consider is the security of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs). The economic development of a country is dependent on the fact that cargo

⁹³ The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: Review of Maritime Transport 2000. Retrieved from http://unctad.org/en/Docs/rmt2000_en.pdf. (8th December 2013).

⁹⁴ International Energy Outlook 2013. USA Energy Information Administration. Retrieved from [http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/ieo/pdf/0484\(2013\).pdf](http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/ieo/pdf/0484(2013).pdf). (8th December 2013).

⁹⁵ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

ships can move freely, without any restrictions, through these zones.⁹⁶ EEZs are a sensitive issue because of the jurisdictional rights of individual coastal states.⁹⁷ Where EEZs are not overlapping or adjacent, it would be easier to foresee cooperation where EEZs are concerned.⁹⁸

Clearly, the security of SLOCs in the EIOR is a legitimate concern for both Malaysia and India. Nine crucial choke points provide access to the IOR, of which five are key energy SLOCs. An obstruction to any of these – especially SOM where it connects Malaysia and India in the EIOR via the Andaman and Nicobar Islands – would result in serious disruption of seaborne exchange and uncontrolled instability in oil and merchandise prices, prompting changes in the global economy.

5.22 *The Safety and Security of Sea Lines of Communication from State Practice over Regional Autonomy*

Though water has no visible boundaries, the littoral states alongside the major SLOCs have a basic claim over their coastal waters. Territorial waters, defined by the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), says that any country that has coastal water extending to 12 nautical miles from the baseline of its land can claim those waters as sovereign territory of the state. The movements of any form of foreign ships in these territorial waters are allowed, as long as they are what is referred to as an ‘innocent passage’. However, permission from the state in question is required. From this perspective, SLOCs are an important element in the understanding of traditional maritime security threats.⁹⁹ Furthermore, as the sea does not have visible boundaries, territorial disputes can occur in areas of overlapping territorial waters.¹⁰⁰ In such a case, violation of the UN ruling is a direct threat to a state’s sovereignty. In the case of MIMSC in the EIOR, China’s active involvement in the EIOR is perceived as a challenge.

There are currently two main sources of insecurity in the IOR. The first is instability in some of the littoral and hinterland states around the Indian Ocean (Potgieter 2012). To some degree, both sea-based terrorism and maritime piracy threaten the security of international shipping in the IOR (Putten, Wetzling and

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ India Individual Interview 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Kamerling 2014). For example, the intrusion of state sovereignty at the SOM by Malaysian Customs vessels that stop vessels, including fishing boats, and demand payment for the government is a major concern.¹⁰¹ SOM is vital to Malaysia, and a highly sensitive issue, and such intrusion into ships is, according to one interviewee, intolerable.¹⁰²

The other main source of insecurity relates to the rise of new naval powers in the Indian Ocean. While piracy and terrorism in the Indian Ocean are current issues, the so-called Great Power rivalry is not yet an immediate security threat in the region (Putten, Wetzling and Kamerling 2014). However, the potential effects of Great Power rivalry are more fundamental than, and extend beyond, acts of terrorism or piracy (Putten, Wetzling and Kamerling 2014). China's rising maritime power in the EIOR is seen as a major concern by both Malaysia and India.

In terms of this rivalry, one major issue stands out: the increasing maritime rivalry between India and China. Tensions between these two Asian powers have existed since the 1959 exile of the Dalai Lama to India, and the 1962 Sino-Indian border war. Moreover, China is a close security partner of Pakistan, which ever since Partition has had a troubled relationship with India.¹⁰³ Now that China is emerging as a major power and India's population may overtake that of China in a few years' time, the IOR has become an additional area of potential tension between the two countries. While China's policy towards the USA has been more absolute in the recent years, India's foreign policy vis-à-vis China has become more vocal. India is shaping its policy with its IOR neighbours and major Asian powers in various ways to match China's strategic partnership, in an eastward crescent along the Asia-Pacific Rim. In this process, India also hopes that the USA will help to neutralise the continuing Chinese military efforts and ambitions at the IOR.

While the growing competition between China and India is particular evident in the context of the IOR, the concern raised amongst the littoral states relate to China's increasing economic ambitions, especially the search for energy at the IOR. China's tactic of investing money abroad and in vital industries for energy development has been fruitful in terms of locking access and other related energy resources and materials for the development of its country. Some see China's efforts to secure

¹⁰¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

energy resources as the beginning of a new era, focusing on the ‘geopolitics of energy’, which would impact on development, bring about competition and even result in conflict (Rumley 2012). In fact, this situation, which can be termed a power struggle for energy, has the potential of becoming a defining characteristic of the 21st century (*ibid*).

Energy security and resource diplomacy have compelled China to cast an anxious eye at the SLOCs. Sea transport is China's most cost-effective mode of energy supply. Free passage through the straits between China's coastlines and the IOR has become of exceptional strategic significance for China. China's energy purchases have expanded comprehensively throughout the Middle East, central Asia and Africa; more than 70 per cent of China's oil imports are ocean based. Despite the fact that China is trying to acquire secure supply lines and thus decrease its dependency, China is seen as continuously relying upon energy supplies particularly from the Middle East and Africa.

This dependency is largely due to the chokepoint at the SOM. According to mainstream Chinese writings, the SOM constitutes the ‘soft underbelly’ of Beijing, thereby introducing the ‘Malacca Dilemma’ to the Chinese Government.¹⁰⁴ That is why, as previously mentioned, we have been seeing China extending its diplomatic, economic and military forays into the IOR. Its overland pipeline and its port projects with various IOR littoral states are all designed to reduce the Malacca Dilemma by providing alternative energy routes to China, reducing the need for Beijing to channel the energy supplies through the Malacca Strait.¹⁰⁵

The water routes connecting China to the Middle East and Africa go through SOM (a restricted entry cooperatively managed by Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia). No less than 95 per cent of the oil utilised in China is transported via sea, and 80 per cent of that goes through the SOM. Besides that, the SOM is an amazingly crowded passage and so it is thick with privateers and terrorists. Based on the IMB yearly theft report, a huge number of incidents take place in the SOM, a large proportion of which include hijacking for payment or assault by automatic weapons and rocket launchers. The problem for China is that SOM is a vital water route for China's energy resources but at the same time it is far from reach due to geographical conditions. Accordingly, any weakness in the vital chokepoints of

¹⁰⁴ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

¹⁰⁵ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

SLOCs at the IOR waters is a major issue for China, and China's method of assuring the security of these choke points is amazingly constrained. This is one of the components of the Chinese 'string of pearls' policy (Pathak 2009).

Indian security challenges in the case of China's maritime ambitions in the EIOR can be observed on several occasions. In the middle of 2010 for example, India attempted to block China's aim to become co-chair of the Shared Awareness and Deconfliction (SHADE) initiative – a trilateral pact between Japan, China and India to share data to achieve the most efficient use of Naval Forces present in the IOR (Gokhale and Josh 2012). Another event could be seen in the western hemisphere of the IOR. For example, due to the concerns of a possible limitation of India in its own backyard, India cast an unfavourable vote against China's idea of clustering the Gulf of Aden into smaller sections for easier patrolling by responsible individual countries, and strongly argued that it was not meeting the criteria presented by UNCLOS. A similar situation can be seen along India's littoral states. For example, in 2011, China proposed to place a military presence at Seychelles to curb the increasing concern of piracy. This idea was seen as an indirect attempt to reduce India's prominent role at the IOR waters. The exact same scenario was seen when India tried to prevent Sri Lanka from engaging with China at the Gulf of Mannar, just adjacent to India's coastline.

China's offers of military or economic assistance are seen as gaining influence in the region. Just as China is expanding its maritime influence along the littoral states next to India, its anti-piracy operations off the Horn of Africa are another form of encirclement against India in the IOR. As other countries begin to counterbalance China's positions in the same sphere of influence, for example Japan and Korea deploying naval presences at the Horn of Africa, India is also presenting similar behaviours in order to remove competition for its regional position in its own backyard.

A similar intention is noticeable in China, to check and balance India's ties with both SEA nations, which is strongly reflected through its LEP. China's continuous attempts to have a strong position in this region through its partnership with vital IOR countries is believed to be a possible extension of its 'string of pearls'. Whilst India is ensuring that its regional power in the IOR is not jeopardised by China, the SEA region recognises India as a healthy check against China, especially in SOM. This manifestation is well mirrored in terms of India's role within the ASEAN

context. In the case of maritime security especially, SEA countries seem to be more willing to cooperate with India than with China, especially in ensuring that no regional autonomy is present at the SOM.

India's role in Asia can be observed in its relationship with various SEA countries. A key element of India's Pacific outreach has been regular joint naval exercises, port calls, security dialogues and meetings as well as different levels of defence cooperation amongst like-minded countries. For instance, India has accepted Vietnam's offer of berthing rights in Na Trang Port in SCS. In addition to this, there are some reports that mention that India will be offering its BRAHMOS cruise missiles as it has to Malaysia for 'friendship prices'. On the other hand, India's participation in the ASEAN + 8 meeting between the defence minister, an important platform, discussed evolving security issues faced by affected countries. New Delhi is also scaling up defence ties with Tokyo, Seoul, and Canberra (Malik 2012), to counterbalance China's strong position in SCS waters.

However, as confirmed by the Malaysian Minister of Defence, Hishammuddin Hussein, in October 2014 Malaysia and China agreed to hold joint military exercises, subsequent to an MOU that the two had signed in 2005. Although the joint exercises were in the event cancelled, Malaysia's Minister of Transport, Liow Tiong Lai, announced that Malaysia, in collaboration with China, was planning to develop a maritime training hub for the ASEAN region. He said China had in the past provided technical assistance and numerous capacity-building programmes to ASEAN, particularly in the training of seafarers. To reciprocate, Malaysia had offered the maritime institute's collaboration with Chinese experts in order to develop a training hub for the region.¹⁰⁶ He also announced that the port of Qinzhou on the Gulf of Tonkin in South China's Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region had become a sister port of Kuantan (on Malaysia's eastern seaboard), as a mark of close cooperation between the two countries. He stated: "the two ports will cooperate in various fields, including shared shipping lanes, logistics, information exchange and talent training."¹⁰⁷ Malaysia's stronger engagement with China in the maritime domain does reflect its long-term interest in the SCS, especially with regard to the disputed islands.

¹⁰⁶ Star Asia News Network 2014. China, Malaysia to develop maritime training hub. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2014-12/03/content_19014566.htm (3rd of December 2014).

¹⁰⁷ Star Asia News Network. 2014. China, Malaysia to develop maritime training hub. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2014-12/03/content_19014566.htm. (3rd of December 2014).

Since 2009, China has been involved in a series of aggressive incidents in SCS waters, causing concern for the Malaysian authorities. For example, in February 2011, Chinese frigates fired on Philippines fishing boats and in the following month, attempted to ram a Philippines government energy research vessel. In May 2011, China unilaterally announced a four-month fishing ban in the northern part of the SCS. Steel posts and buoys were laid, and exploration cables from a Vietnamese ship in the SCS were cut. Chinese military vessels used guns to threaten the crews of Vietnamese fishing boats. In 2012, several Vietnamese fishermen in the Paracel Islands were detained by the Chinese. Meanwhile, in December 2011, a Chinese civilian ship and naval vessel were seen in Philippines territorial waters, and in 2012 Chinese fishing boats were seen around the Scarborough Shoal, an area within Philippines waters, causing diplomatic standoffs. These incidents have raised concerns in Malaysia, which is contesting the Spratly Islands with China. Hence, Malaysia needs to balance the maritime power involvement of China.

Asian powers have in recent years increased their military expenditure and will almost certainly continue to do so in the coming decades. This increase arises from the need to mitigate both traditional and non-traditional security issues. The traditional concerns in particular are due to the need to balance the naval presence and developments at the EIOR. Countries like Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and Vietnam have extended their naval presence in this sphere. China on the other hand has undertaken the most rapid expansion. Although the USA factor places an important role behind China's naval expansion in Asia, its neighbouring countries are caution in their own backyards. The power competition between China and the USA are growing each day and India is expected to join, leading to a triangular power competition between these major powers.

While this is a concern, the safety and security from state regional autonomy are also dependent on three most important players that decide how security at SOM is to be accomplished. They are the littoral states, the client states, and shippers. The littoral states have the privilege of imposing rules on navigational safety and security and making regulations with regard to forestalling accidents. These rights are set out in the SOLAS, the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea (COLREG), and the 1982 UNCLOS. These provisions are constrained, notwithstanding, by the privileges of travel that the UNCLOS extends to the vessels of client states traversing the SOM. Even so, the littoral states have taken various

measures to advance the safety and security of navigation through the SOM. As the major watchdog over the SOM, Malaysia has these privileges to ensure the safety and security of SOM, however as it is only a minor power, such measures are insufficient without the assistance of a major maritime power, such as India, in the EIOR.

This scenario can be conveyed through the Malaysian National Defence Policy. Under this policy, Malaysian boundaries are described as vulnerable to sea threats. The geographical position of Peninsula Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak separated by SCS pushes Malaysia to give high priority to maritime defence in its policymaking. Any threat or disruption to the ocean and air courses there can threaten the stability of the two ranges and in general, of Malaysia (Mahadzir 2012). Hence, with a wide-range of waters to safeguard, it is easier to separate water boundaries, one to the east and one to the west, in order to effectively monitor the territory waters of Malaysia. In the eastern front in particular, India's friendship is vital and these conditions shape MIMSC in the EIOR.

While the growing maritime developments around the IOR have compelled many countries to establish contact and seek each other's assistance to face maritime challenges and safeguard their maritime interest, the maritime relationship between Malaysia and India is not new. There are sufficient recorded points of reference for a more extensive and more profound engagement of the Indian military forces in Malaysia on all three divisions: land force, air force and the navy. From the navy's perspective, Malaysia's cooperation with India on the protection of the EIOR is well reflected through the Five Power Defence Agreements (FPDA). MIMSC has increased on a positive face with regular navy-navy visits, joint naval exercises, security dialogues and other maritime activities to strengthen the partnership. Ever since the Malaysia-India defence cooperation signed in 1993, the relationship has escalated to a great level. The list of defence and maritime activities in particular presented in Chapter 2 (Table 1 and 2) reflect a sign of great friendship between both countries and a strong sign of willingness to bring this particular relationship to a higher level of cooperation.

Maritime security and cooperation between maritime forces is seen by Malaysia as critical, and it appears that India holds a similar view; it has assumed an urgent role in expanding positive maritime ties by undertaking a range of helpful measures, including joint bilateral and multilateral activities, port calls and military help (Dutta

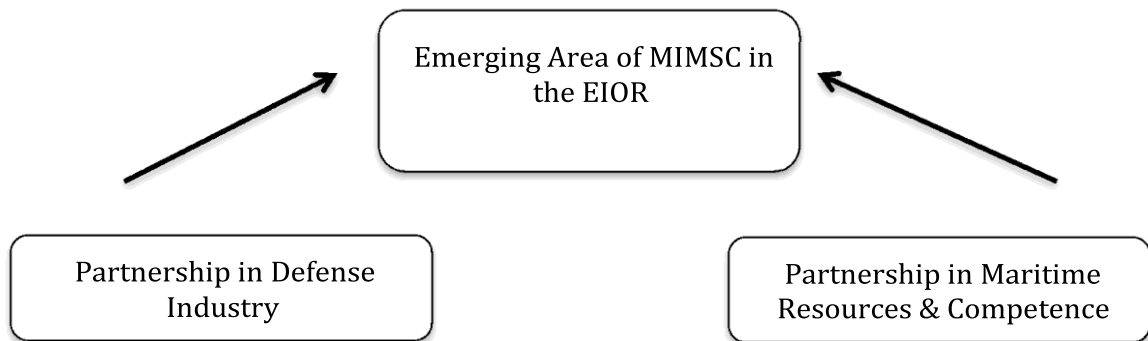
2009). However, there are cynics who claim that the ‘upgraded’ cooperation between Malaysia and India lacks substance (Dutta 2009). It appears that steps towards implementation are not being taken. Therefore, instead of observing an increase or at least a steady growth in the partnership, the volume of cooperation is believed to be at a standstill. However, as a note of caution, this situation should be addressed with high urgency. Maritime cooperation is a vital requirement amongst countries in the IOR especially with the growing maritime challenges in recent years.

One particular shift will strengthen MIMSC in the EIOR. As a country that is dependent largely on SOM for trade activities and at the same time has one of the largest naval forces in the IOR, it is natural to seek partnership with vital powers at this juncture. However, it is important to respect Malaysia’s predominant role in its own backyard. Malaysia has openly accepted and endorsed India’s help and assistance in providing security measures in ensuring a safe SOM. One such example is ensuring that the northern circle of SOM, which is adjacent to Andaman and Nicobar Island, is protected from the threats of transnational wrongdoings. These include the trafficking of weapons, people, and drugs, which have long been of concern to the littoral states. Since India has the authority in terms of shaping and imposing laws in this sphere, a strong chain of friendship is likely to prosper. Just as India has more liberty at the Andaman Sea and requires limited involvement from the Malaysian side, India on the other hand should also aim for limited involvement in SOM. Pioneer coastal states, especially Malaysia and Indonesia, have clearly stated their view that the littoral states should only seek assistance in support of navigational safety (Permal 2012). MIMSC in the EIOR is shaping along these lines.

5.3 Emerging Areas of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region

This section will discuss the emerging areas of MIMSC in the EIOR.

Diagram 3: Emerging Areas of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in Mitigating Traditional Security Threats in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region



Partnership in maritime resources and competence is a fundamental element in any cooperation. Whilst resources are tangible, competence involves knowledge, skills and expertise, and responsibility involves attitude and core values such as integrity, innovation and credibility. These are vital strategies in facing environments that are rapidly changing, as in the maritime domain. If such a strategy is strongly exploited, a strong resource and foundation for competence can be built. MIMSC in the EIOR is cooperation that is based on this framework.

In the past, Malaysia and India's defence relationship was mainly based on land forces. This was partly due to Malaysia's priority to overcome the threat of communism, which was land-based. The Commonwealth Training System provided Malaysia and India with a basis on which they could work together in arms and military training. There were high-level meetings with both Malaysian and Indian Secretary Generals and annual meetings between the Chiefs of Navies, Air Forces and Armies, and this clearly indicated a mature relationship between the two countries.¹⁰⁸ However, the maritime relationship was evidently slow. There were high-level multilateral delegation visits between the two countries for meetings,

¹⁰⁸ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

summits and events such as Lima, DEFEXPO and Aero India. There were also events such as the Indian Warship Goodwill Mission to Malaysia when three Indian naval ships, INS *Ranjit*, INS *Rana* and INS *Jyoti*, visited Port Klang, and the Indian naval ship INS *Ranvijay* entered the port of Sepanggar in Malaysia on August 2014 and embarked on a three-day goodwill visit aimed at strengthening bilateral defence ties. Yet there was still no significant joint bilateral exercise between Malaysia and India.

As previously mentioned, there have of course been multilateral exercises involving both Malaysia and India, such as Milan. However, India has yet to show Malaysia the same commitment to defence cooperation as it has with Malaysia's neighbours, Singapore and Indonesia. For example, Singapore's SIMBEX is designed to enhance interoperability and mutual understanding between the navies of India and Singapore. Since its inception in 1993, SIMBEX has grown in tactical and operational complexity; it has evolved from its traditional emphasis on anti-submarine warfare to more complex maritime exercises, such as air defence, air and surface practice firing, maritime security and SAR.¹⁰⁹ CORPAT, in comparison to SIMBEX, is designed to enhance mutual understanding and interoperability between India and Indonesia, to prosecute vessels engaged in unlawful activities, to conduct SAR and to take measures against sea pollution.¹¹⁰ Since its inception in 2002, the close defence relations between India and Indonesia have grown steadily, with regular joint activities and exchanges of personnel between the armed forces of the two countries.¹¹¹

It could be argued that Malaysia, situated at the heart of Southeast Asia, should thus be a more strategic partner. However, in terms of naval power, Malaysia is not in the same league as either Singapore or Indonesia. Both Singapore and Indonesia have emerging blue water navies. Singapore, with its considerable qualitative military superiority over its neighbours, along with smart diplomacy and alliance building, has an almost impregnable defensive shield. Singapore is also capable of providing an offshore defence of sea lines, and plays a vital role in regional Humanitarian and Disaster Relief (HADR) operations, rendering itself a vital partner

¹⁰⁹ Retrieved from <http://indiannavy.nic.in/operations/simbex-14> (10th April 2015).

¹¹⁰ Retrieved from <http://www.indiandefensenews.in/2014/10/indo-indonesian-wargames-held.html> (12th April 2015).

¹¹¹ Retrieved from <http://indiannavy.nic.in/press-relase/inda-indonesai-exercise-corpat-concludes> (10th April 2015).

in securing the IOR (Hardy 2015). Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country with a coastline of 54,716.0 km (European Institutes for Asian Studies Briefing Seminar 2013). Reports have indicated that Indonesia is aiming to establish a Minimal Essential Force (MEF) and plans to acquire a blue water navy by 2024, thereby attaining powerful naval influence in the region (European Institutes for Asian Studies Briefing Seminar 2013).

It is reasonable to expect that any country would want to work with countries that are as powerful or as influential as itself. Although Malaysia does not yet have a blue water navy, this does not mean that it lacks the experience to conduct naval exercises with India. Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia have similar but not identical experiences in SAR and maritime security. Also, as Malaysia's SOM is a major choke point for ships and a valuable EEZ, India should place the same importance on Malaysia in terms of bilateral exercises.

In terms of bilateral and multilateral naval exercises, as mentioned, there have been many developments between the two nations in terms of training naval personnel and joint exercises with other vital maritime powers. However, in recent times, Malaysia has placed more importance on the SCS and China; whereas Malaysia's volume of naval exercises with India, although not neglected, has not increased. Malaysia often shares information with regard to jungle and guerrilla warfare with the USA, due to shared long-standing experiences of fighting against communists. Thus, a similar exchange of ideas and experiences could enhance the relationship between the navies of Malaysia and India.¹¹² When asked what Malaysia could offer to engage actively with India, it was the FPDA that was in focus, where Australia and Singapore have a navy exchange with Malaysia. A similar cooperation could increase interoperability between the navies, and this could be one area of interest between Malaysia and India.¹¹³

One of the major interests expressed by both Malaysia and India is cooperation relating to assets such as SUKHOI, SCORPENO Club and KILOS.¹¹⁴ Technical and logistics assistance can make a great deal of difference in this traditional maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.¹¹⁵ Both Malaysia and India should focus on

¹¹² Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ India Individual Interview 3.

¹¹⁵ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

training personnel and capacity building.¹¹⁶ Both technical and logistics assistance, and further personnel training, as well as information sharing between Malaysia and India, could improve maritime interoperability between the two in the EIOR.¹¹⁷ As Malaysia has been actively sending officers and men for various courses, including a SUKHOI expertise course, plus gunnery and submarine specialisation, the officers have added that other areas of possible cooperation between both nations could be in aviation, such as on the SUKHOI Su-30 MKM, and in joint naval exercises.¹¹⁸ Enhancing interoperability, and improving technical and logistic assistance and continuous joint maritime exercises are major areas of cooperation that need more focus and practice implementation. Both countries are aware that SLOCs, especially the SOM, is vital for the safer navigation of ships¹¹⁹ and this is critical for both the Malaysian and Indian navies.

Malaysia's leanings towards western countries were strongly driven by the need to overcome the overwhelming communist threat during the Cold War period. This has shaped Malaysia's mind-set and is reflected strongly in its relationship with India. For example, the Malaysian Air Force has over the years steadily increased its involvement in multilateral peacetime training exercises under the auspices of FPDA, Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (Carat), and Pinag-Isang Somahan Ng Tsuper at the Operations Nationwide (Piston) series of annual exercises conducted with the armed forces of the USA, Australia and some neighbouring countries (Chandran 2014). Malaysia needs to change this mentality, and engage strongly with India specifically on more mature defence cooperation, rather than limiting its cooperation with India to visits and attendance at training courses. Whilst adhering to all the principles of territorial respect, which are openly expressed,¹²⁰ if these areas of cooperation were to be taken up, a more comprehensive MIMSC could be shaped in the EIOR.

The defence industry in particular has been a major area of interest to both countries, making it a vital component of cooperation for both Malaysia and India in shaping MIMSC in the EIOR. Also called the military industry, it covers both government and commerce in a country focusing on research, development,

¹¹⁶ India Individual Interview 3.

¹¹⁷ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

¹¹⁸ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

¹¹⁹ India Group Interview 3.

¹²⁰ India Individual Interview 3.

production, export and import of equipment and facilities, and also manpower.

The interest and ambition can be seen in both countries' annual defence exhibitions. In Malaysia, first staged in 1991 with over 100 exhibiting companies, the Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace Exhibition (LIMA) is currently the most influential exhibition in Asia, with almost 500 exhibitors and 38,000 trade visitors in 2015. It is an exhibition of civil and commercial applications focusing on maritime and aerospace defence, commercial and business aviation, shipbuilding and ship repair. Similarly, India organises the Land, Naval & Internal Homeland Security Systems Exhibition (DEFEXPO) annually. First held in 1988, today it receives both foreign and domestic company participation with almost 232 foreign companies from 32 countries and 63 delegations from 58 countries.

The defence industry is a strategic component that forms an integral part of the development of the nation's defence capability. A well-developed defence industry contributes significantly to the availability of state-of-the-art technology, weapons systems and military solutions. It also provides thorough life support structures and services that have a bearing on the serviceability rate of the armed forces inventory (Malaysia Defence Industry Blueprint 2005). Defence industry collaboration, in addition to technical and logistics assistance, can make a significant difference to traditional maritime security cooperation in the EIOR,¹²¹ and is a new area of opportunity for both Malaysia and India. In its position as a developing maritime nation, there is a direct need for Malaysia to have a common platform to develop a defence industry like that of other countries.¹²² Both Malaysia and India have long-term diplomatic relationships and these can be used to enable cooperation in the defence industry.¹²³

One long-term feature that has been in the interests of India is Malaysia's ship maintenance and repair industry. The maritime industry is a complex one that is highly dependent on factors such as global economic and trade development (Frost and Sullivan 2012). The growth of a successful shipbuilding sector has been pivotal to the rapid and robust economic development of most countries with long coastlines. Shipbuilding has the potential to increase the contribution of the industry and the services sector to national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The sector has a strong

¹²¹ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ India Individual Interview 1.

impact, both direct and indirect, on most other leading industries such as steel, aluminum, electrical machinery and equipment, and it is hugely dependent on – hence there is a great call for – infrastructure and service sectors. The shipbuilding industry is usually characterised by a few large companies controlling the majority of market shares, the remaining participants being a large number of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

It is beneficial for both India and Malaysia to collaborate on shipbuilding and maintenance, which could have a positive effect on the cost-efficiency of the shipbuilding industry.¹²⁴ It has been argued that no joint venture has been carried out so far, while great prospects lie in maintenance, repair, assets and ships.¹²⁵ India has suggested that a shift could take place in shipbuilding and maintenance services.¹²⁶ Malaysia has good ship services skills, which India can utilise, as it is cheaper for India.¹²⁷ Most Indian ships are sent to Europe for high-value services, which could otherwise be sent to Malaysia.

Unbeknownst to many, Malaysia provides good maintenance services with much more affordable prices than India's western counterparts. Malaysia is also competitive in naval equipment manufacturing, and it may seek cooperation with India to boost its local industry.¹²⁸ Malaysia's shipbuilding or ship repairing (SBSR) industry is part of the marine transport sub-sector of the larger transport industry. This consists of enterprises involved in the design, building, construction, repair, maintenance, conversion and upgrading of vessels and marine equipment (Khalid 2014).

Over the last few years, Malaysia has been recognised as one of the most reputed trading partners by many countries around the world. According to the Maritime Institute of Malaysia (MIMA), Malaysia's geographical proximity at the IOR has strongly influenced its large number of seaborne activities in SOM. In addition, two ports in Malaysia, Port Klang and Tanjung Pelepas, have emerged as the two largest ports in the world. These strong assets have helped Malaysia climb the economic ladder, among other countries on this shoreline. In the effort to provide the industry with the necessary tools to compete in the global arena, the Malaysian

¹²⁴ India Group Interview 1.

¹²⁵ India Group Interview 2.

¹²⁶ India Individual Interview 2.

¹²⁷ Malaysia Group Interview 2.

¹²⁸ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

government pledged to develop Malaysia as a center for shipbuilding and repairs (Entry Point Project No. 6) under the Business Services in the National Key Economic Area (NKEA), as part of the country's Economic Transformation Programme (ETP).¹²⁹ The Entry Point Project (EPP) focuses on providing competitive prices, enhanced facilities and increased capabilities for shipbuilding and the maintenance, repair and overhaul (MRO) market, to cater to the growing shipbuilding and repair industry. As a result, in 2011 the turnover the industry generated was approximately RM7.05 billion and created about 32,500 jobs.¹³⁰ The industry also attracted RM6 billion worth of investments.¹³¹

The Malaysian shipping industry generated large amounts of money from the construction of medium-sized vessels and their export to countries in the region, as well as Europe, the Middle East and Australia. In this regard, the industry is still demonstrating strong growth, and it has been officially recognised that the potential to expand the export industry is enormous, especially as a result of the slowdown in the global demand for larger vessels. The concomitant increase in demand for medium-sized ships, both locally and internationally, has created a profitable opportunity to support Malaysia's development as a shipbuilding and ship repair hub. It is evident that the Malaysian shipyards have managed to capture a huge share of the domestic market, as well as a share of the global market.

It is not well known that Malaysia's SBSR is in fact thriving, enjoys government support and features yards capable of producing quality products and workmanship. Given these advantages, the industry has the potential to gain a greater global market share. In acknowledgment of this, in December 2011, Malaysia launched its Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Industry Strategic Plan (SBSR) 2020 to provide a useful roadmap and to set realistic targets for the industry. Prime Minister Najib Razak, in a speech at Port Klang on August 2013, argued that:

The industry would achieve more than USD6 billion profits and provide over 55,000 jobs by 2020 in the SBSR sector, which includes shipping, port operations, shipbuilding/repairing and offshore oil and gas exploration and production (Maierbrugger 2013).

¹²⁹ The outlook of shipbuilding and ship repair sector. 2013. MGCC Perspectives. Retrieved from http://www.malaysia.ahk.de/fileadmin/ahk_malaysia/Perspectives/Perspectives_NovDec13.pdf . (10th March 2014).

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ EPP 6: Developing Malaysia as a Shipbuilding & Ship Repair Hub. Retrieved from http://etp.pemandu.gov.my/Business_Services-@-Business_Services-_EPP_6-;_Developing_Malaysia_as_a_Shipbuilding_and_Repair_Hub.aspx (14th July 2015).

Furthermore, at the 2nd National Marine Industries Forum (2NMIF) keynote speech in Kuala Lumpur, held on October 2012, YB Dato' Sri Mustapa Mohamed, Minister of MITI, said that Malaysia has what it takes to “make a mark in the industry” amid intense competition from shipyards in the region.¹³² The SBSR 2020 has a multilevel strategy to develop and blossom Malaysia's defence industry to a standard compatible with developed countries. These involved various different levels of execution, starting with establishing strong business friendships, encouraging active involvement within the structure, quality control of products and services, and a healthy, safe and effective working environment.

At the same forum, MIMA's Chairman, Vice Admiral Tan Sri Dato' Seri Ahmad Ramli Hj. Mohd. Nor (Ret.), said that:

By fulfilling the targets set in SBSR 2020, Malaysia has wisely focused on leveraging its existing strengths in building small and medium-sized vessels and in exploring the offshore oil and gas industry to gain a global share in this lucrative and competitive field; therefore enhancing Malaysia's competitiveness as a maritime nation.¹³³

Strategically located at SOM, Selangor's shores are frequented by 60,000 to 94,000 ships every year.¹³⁴ This translates into one third of global trade carried through the SOM and half the global oil trade.¹³⁵ Malaysia being located at these important SLOCs of international trade routes requires that there is focus on this particular industry for a strong and more advance maritime outlook. Approximately RM300 billion capital expenditure provides medium- to long-term finance for the maritime sector, such as the national oil company Petronas, and other Malaysian governmental schemes, for example the Bank Pembangunan Malaysia Berhad.

With such government policies and incentives, Malaysia has succeeded in this industry. Selangor concentrates on design, support and maintenance, repair/overhaul

¹³² World Maritime News. 2012. Malaysia Aims to Become Global Player in Shipbuilding Industry. Retrieved from <http://worldmaritimenews.com/archives/66695/malaysia-aims-to-become-global-player-in-shipbuilding-industry/>. (10th March 2014).

¹³³ World Maritime News. 2012. Malaysia Aims to Become Global Player in Shipbuilding Industry. Retrieved from <http://worldmaritimenews.com/archives/66695/malaysia-aims-to-become-global-player-in-shipbuilding-industry/>. (10th March 2014).

¹³⁴ The Outlook of Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Sector: MGCC Perspectives. Retrieved from http://www.malaysia.ahk.de/fileadmin/ahk_malaysia/Perspectives/Perspectives_NovDec13.pdf. (10th March 2014).

¹³⁵ Ibid.

(MRO) services, plus equipment and component manufacturing. Statistics from 2011 show that 14 ships were built by six shipyards in Selangor, 18 in shipyards on the peninsula and 229 in the shipbuilding hub of East Malaysia.¹³⁶ Port Klang, the 12th busiest global container port in the world, is under the supervision of Port Klang Authority and is operated by two private companies, Northport and Westports. In 2012, both were able to boast of handling 10 million 40-foot-equivalent units (TEUs)¹³⁷ and 48 per cent of Malaysia's total container tonnage.¹³⁸ Until mid-2013, Westports achieved 5.5 million TEUs, in line with Port Klang's growth forecast.¹³⁹ India could benefit from a country that holds such vast potential in the shipbuilding industry. That said, there is already an abundance of opportunities for Indian investors and industry players to reap benefits from Malaysia's MRO and SBSR industries.

India's SBSR industry is also gaining momentum. The Indian shipbuilding and ship repair industry is likely to reach Rs 9,200 crore (Rs 92 billion) from the current level of just over Rs 7,310 crore (approximately Rs 73 billion), according to a study done by the industry body, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM).¹⁴⁰ India accounts for approximately 1 per cent of the global shipbuilding industry, worth about Rs 7.3 lakh crore (Rs 7.3 trillion) and is growing at a compounded annual growth rate (CAGR)¹⁴¹ of about 8 per cent.¹⁴² Globally, this industry is growing at a CAGR of about 24 per cent, and in February 2014 was estimated to reach Rs 14 lakh crore (Rs 14 billion) by 2015, owing to the rise in global seaborne trade.¹⁴³

However, India's port handling charges are much higher and their logistics systems are under-performing. A shipment from India's port costs an average of USD1200 while in China and Singapore these cost USD600 and USD400 respectively.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, India's turnaround performance at 1.1 days, in

¹³⁶ The Outlook of Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Sector: MGCC Perspectives. Retrieved from http://www.malaysia.ahk.de/fileadmin/ahk_malaysia/Perspectives/Perspectives_NovDec13.pdf. (10th March 2014)..

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Desai (2012) *Indian ship building industry to reach Rs 9,200 crore by 2015*. Retrieved from http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-04-16/news/31349922_1_shipbuilding-assochem-industry-body (15th February 2014).

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ World Maritime News. 2014. India's Shipping Logistics Costly and Inefficient (2014). Retrieved from <http://worldmaritimenews.com/archives/135351/indias-shipping-logistics-costly-and-inefficient/> (30th September

comparison to 12 hours in Dubai, Shanghai and Colombo, is another factor that hinders the development of India's SBSR industry.¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, although India has lower labour costs compared to other nations, feeding the workforce has been a great challenge from the Indian side. As shipbuilding requires a proper labour base, Malaysia could be a good partner. Placing more emphasis on developing the SBSR industry with Malaysia could improve India's port handling. This also augurs an excellent future for a Malaysia–India partnership to develop the maritime sectors of both countries, especially in the SBSR industry, as both countries have what the other lacks; that is, Malaysia has the expertise while India has the low labour costs.

This could be of benefit to both Malaysia and India. Malaysia should remain focused on developing its ship repairing and maintenance service, as this could be the future success of its defence industry.¹⁴⁶ There have been several attempts at building offshore boats between Malaysia and countries in Europe (Turkey for example) but with India, the cooperation is based on maintenance services (that is, the Indian knowhow).¹⁴⁷ The SCORPEN Club is a good example, but a more forward outlook is needed, e.g. trust in indigenous exchange and maintenance of ships of the first and second line.¹⁴⁸ It is therefore clear that further development in this area depends on both Malaysia and India's acquisition policies.

Another area has been research and development (R&D). R&D plays a crucial factor in this industry in terms of testing and developing new technologies. Globalisation has simplified technology transfer within countries. The global village concept has enabled firms to build a strong network on R&D exchange and also transfer the required technology to the industry. This idea has been well utilised by developing countries, such as Malaysia, who have invested in R&D centres and promoted collaboration between universities and industries. However, the links between research institutes, universities and the industry are often weak. This is usually due to the lack of trust between the different players in the fields of research, technology and industry, which in turn leads to the universities and industry working

2014).

¹⁴⁵ World Maritime News. 2014. India's Shipping Logistics Costly and Inefficient (2014). Retrieved from <http://worldmaritimeneeds.com/archives/135351/indias-shipping-logistics-costly-and-inefficient/> (30th September 2014).

¹⁴⁶ Malaysia Group Interview 2.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ India Group Interview 1.

in isolation. Therefore, the industry argues that the universities neither understand nor satisfy the needs of the industry, while industries are often more focused on short-term profits and are unwilling to invest in R&D.

Malaysia is evidently working to counter this vicious cycle. For example, the Malaysia Defence Technology Park (MDSTP) situated in Sungkai, Perak, is the first defence hub in the ASEAN region. It is focused on developing local human capital, R&D, science, technology and innovation for a defence security and enforcement agency.¹⁴⁹ It covers vast areas such as aerospace, automotive, information and communication technology (ICT), weaponry, and also maritime industries. In terms of the latter, it focuses on design, fabrication, welding, local manufacturing, piping, cabling, engine repair, electronic equipment repair and training. The MDSTP is expected to provide facilities for human resources and a technical competency centre for defence-related skills and other R&D services, both local and regional, as well as to promote and attract a worldwide network in the defence industry. India is interested in investing in Su-30 aircraft, Kilo class submarines, the battery industry, and R&D in defence technology, which could encourage healthy cooperation in the advancement of the defence industry and make it technologically stronger and more competitive.¹⁵⁰ Malaysia's innovative ideas, such as the MDSTP, could thus be used as one of the key offers or as a starting point in a proposal for further comprehensive MIMSC in the EIOR.

India has considerable naval knowledge and Malaysian naval industries could benefit from this.¹⁵¹ Malaysia is interested in engaging with India in such areas as the production of frigates and destroyers, with capabilities such as India's Shivakli class frigate, a hybrid of western and Russian technology.¹⁵² Malaysia also claims that having a stronger relationship with India could provide more positive engagement in areas such as missiles and aircraft training such as the Yak 130 and the M346.¹⁵³ Malaysia's defence industry is believed to be considerably less extensive than India's, and could make good use of India's strong capabilities, especially with regard to military equipment.¹⁵⁴ Hence, in terms of receiving defence assistance and cooperation, for instance in the areas of trainings from India, Malaysia would receive

¹⁴⁹ Retrieved from <http://www.aedintl.com/global-economic-development-bureau/>. (15th March 2014).

¹⁵⁰ India Group Interview 1.

¹⁵¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

¹⁵² Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ India Group Interview 1.

India's help with open arms.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, India could also utilise Malaysia's expertise in SBSR and MRO, services which could be obtained at a lower price. In addition, Malaysia's active engagement and interest in R&D could also benefit India, an emerging maritime power keen to benefit from new innovative ideas and technology relating to ships.

5.4 Conclusion

It is evident that both Malaysia and India have expressed concern over the safety and security of SLOCs, and this traditional maritime concern is shaping MIMSC in the EIOR in the post-Cold War era. The IOR is the heartbeat of the major global economy. With the large volume of international trade flowing through major choke points around the IOR, both Malaysia and India are seeking cooperation to ensure the safety of SLOCs for economic prosperity. Both countries also seek to cooperate to ensure that no one single regional autonomous power is present in the EIOR, especially with regard to China's maritime ambitions in the region. A power balance is seen as essential to ensure that no power vacuum is present in this sphere of influence, which would indirectly implicate the safety and tranquillity of SLOCs in the EIOR.

Two major emerging areas are shaping MIMSC in the EIOR. These collaborations will help mitigate the traditional maritime threat faced by both Malaysia and India in the EIOR. The first is a partnership in maritime resources and competence, and the second is a partnership in the defence industry. These areas of cooperation herald a resilient MIMSC in the EIOR. The next chapter discusses the MIMSC and mitigation of non-traditional security threats in the EIOR.

¹⁵⁵ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

CHAPTER 6

MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION AND THE MITIGATION OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses MIMSC and the mitigation of non-traditional security threats in the EIOR. It has two sections: first, a discussion of the non-traditional threats faced by both Malaysia and India; the second section discusses the emerging areas of MIMSC in order to overcome these threats in the EIOR.

6.2 Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia–India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region

This section discusses the common non-traditional threats that are shaping MIMSC in the EIOR. From a non-traditional perspective, both Malaysia and India have expressed concern about a) terrorism at sea, b) piracy, c) other illicit activities and d) natural disasters, all of which appear to be a major concern for both Malaysia and India in the EIOR.

At the most fundamental level, transnational security issues can be characterised as non-military threats that cross national borders and damage both the political and social respectability of a country as well as the integrity of its residents. These can be termed low-power clashes. Unlike the traditional and atomic threats, which are utilised by states, low-power clashes are the instruments utilised by state-supported factions and also by non-state actors such as criminal gangs or terrorist groups who pay little heed to international laws and measures (Gallagher 1992).¹⁵⁶

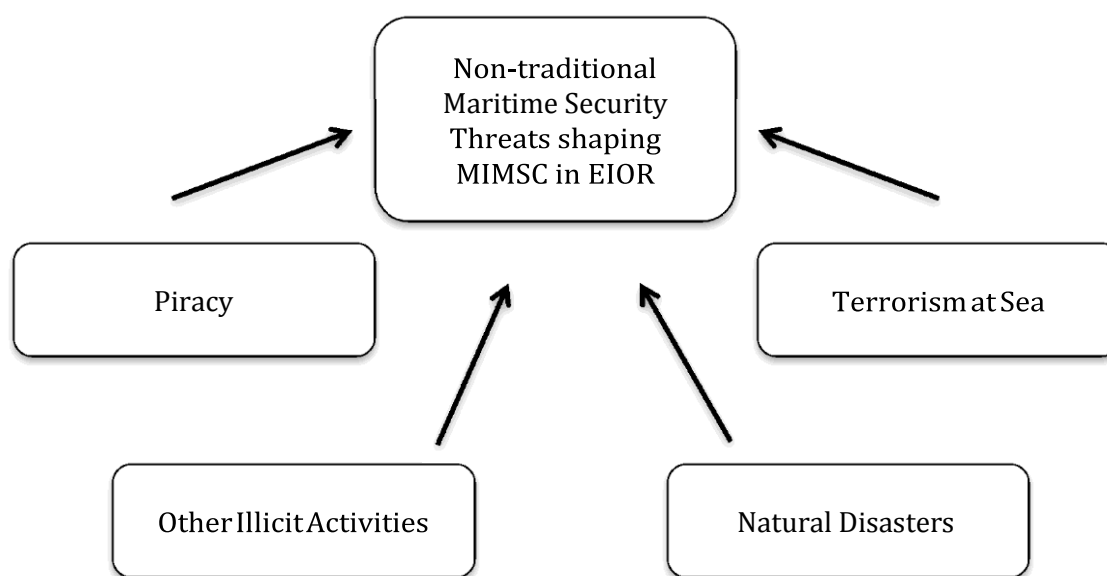
The problems generated by low-power clashes include non-traditional security concerns, such as: marine terrorism; piracy; illicit, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing; environmental changes; common marine perils; the risks to energy security; and the risks to human security (that is, the need to prevent or at least minimise wrongdoing, destitution and malady). Many such risks have a critical marine component, and oceanic security has been discussed widely by many countries

¹⁵⁶ Retrieved from: http://www.mu.ac.in/arts/social_science/african_studies/biswaswp.pdf. (7th July 2014).

because most trafficking is taking place at sea (Bateman & Bergin 2010).

Traditional maritime threats are naturally of concern, but the problems represented by the wide spectrum of human-generated threats to maritime commerce are more challenging. This is because it is difficult to detect the cause of such threats, which are mostly carried out by non-state actors and interest groups that have no permanent central government. These conditions are shaping MIMSC in the EIOR.

Diagram 4: Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats Shaping Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region



6.21 Piracy

Piracy is generally viewed as *hostis humani generis*, Latin for ‘the adversary of the human race’. This is because pirate activities involve homicide, theft, loot, assault and many other cruel and contemptible deeds, with significant consequences for human activities at sea. Piracy has been problematic for many nations for centuries, but in the 21st century, globalisation has led to more of this activity occurring across boundaries, expanding and emerging in new areas throughout the globe.

Piracy is a mainstream non-traditional threat that is definitively growing in the EIOR. The International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) International Maritime Bureau Piracy Reporting Centre (IMB-PRC) reported 2,626 pirates’ attacks worldwide from 1984 to the end of March 2002. In addition, according to a report

issued by the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) in 2003, pirate attacks had tripled in the previous decade. The number of attacks in the first quarter of 2003 was equal to the total number of recorded private attacks for the whole of 1993 (Keyuan 2005).

Piracy has become a growing and ever more extensive concern, and with the increasing reported and unreported incidents of piracy, this cross-boundary threat is a challenge to most activities and other human elements at sea, including fishermen, leisure seafarers, the military and cargo vessels. As indicated by the IMO Annual Report 2002, the SOM, the SCS and the IOR are the zones that have been most influenced by piracy. The IOR and its adjoining waters have long been notorious worldwide for pirate attacks and theft, because of the large amounts of shipping going through it, the low levels of maritime policing, and an environment that makes it easy for people to vanish without trace.¹⁵⁷

As a consequence, in the 19th century a legitimate administration was created because of the threats of piracy. A standard worldwide law made piracy the first crime, in which all states were entitled to capture wrongdoers and charge them with criminal activities (Khurana 2007). These improvements in local customs found their way into the statute books through the 20th century. The 1958 Geneva Convention on the High Seas, and the 1982 UNCLOS both sketched out a global administration for the constraint of piracy.¹⁵⁸ The common goal of mitigating piracy soon grew momentum and is accepted by most countries as a result of the most precise universal law to address the issue of piracy. MIMSC in the EIOR has also developed in part due to this trend.

Based on the UNCLOS definition, an incident of high seas piracy is a matter of concern for all countries involved. This is because the UNCLOS defines that high seas are a common and international water area for any country for the purpose of innocent passage. With no country having ownership of this area, this means that any country affected by a particular crime at sea has the right to seize or block malefactors, who should be arrested by an authorised maritime enforcement team. A similar right also applies in EEZs and regional waters that are more than 200 nautical miles away from territorial waters of a country.

At the outset, when the UNCLOS began addressing the issue of piracy and

¹⁵⁷ Retrieved from: http://www.tamilnation.org/intframe/indian_ocean/pk_gosh.htm (10th July 2014).

¹⁵⁸ The United Nations 1958 Geneva Convention on the High Seas. Retrieved from http://www.gc.noaa.gov/documents/8_1_1958_high_seas.pdf (21st April 2014).

elements such as its correct definition, its components and countermeasures, almost all countries viewed most marine areas as high seas. This is due to the fact that the act of piracy was increasingly challenging for national governments. The concepts then slowly developed, and one outcome of these advancements is that the present-day law on piracy now falls into two categories: a) piracy that occurs outside 12-nautical miles from coastal waters, also referring to piracy at high seas which demarcate the limits of coastal state locality and power; and b) sea-robber acts, which take place in regional waters (Pandya 2011).

In this context, piracy and sea robbery in the SOM is a particularly important driver to consider for Malaysia.¹⁵⁹ It is contended that the major maritime concern from the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA) point of view is first piracy, which happens on the high seas, and sea robbery, which takes places within 12 nautical miles of a country's shoreline.¹⁶⁰ The later classification additionally applies fundamentally to Malaysia, as it has sea boundaries with its neighbours, Singapore and Indonesia, in the Malay Archipelago in SEA waters.

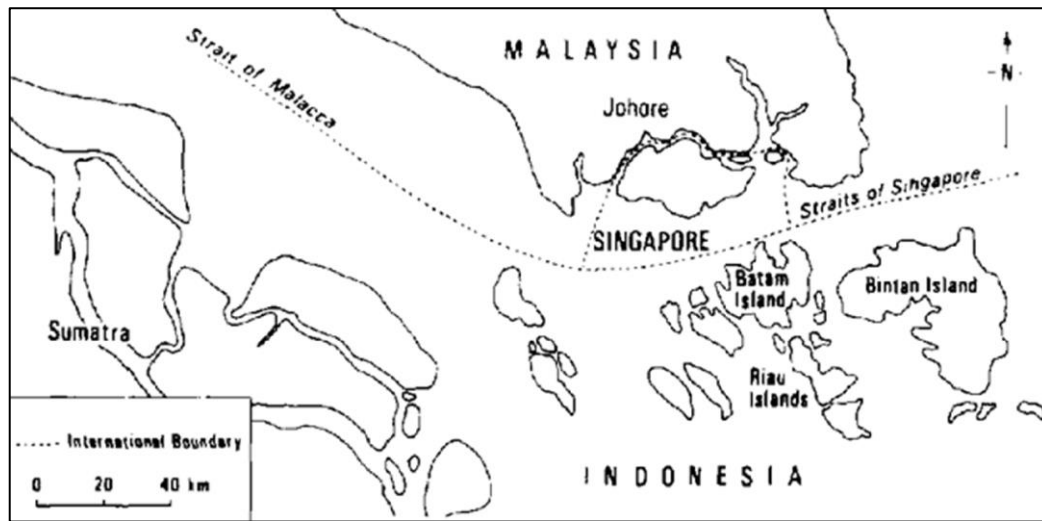
Sea robbery occurring around the territorial waters of Malaysia in the EIOR is a direct threat to state sovereignty, and it also has huge implications in the overall maritime security of the IOR. Although piracy is carried out more than 12 nautical miles from land, pirates have innovative ways of sneaking through busy waters and escaping into the waters of neighbouring states, making their crime an international issue requiring the attention of international law enforcement. A tactic often used by pirates and sea robbers is to target not fuel tankers but vessels with lower freeboard, which are easier to board for hijacking,¹⁶¹ facilitating a rapid getaway.

¹⁵⁹ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

¹⁶⁰ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

¹⁶¹ Donald R. Rothwell, Retrieved from <http://www.crimesofwar.org/commentary/maritime-piracy-and-international-law/>. (28th April 2014).

Map 10: International Boundaries of Malaysia-Singapore-Indonesia in the Southeast Asia Region



Source: archive.unu.edu

In this context, the SOM has been a prime spot for piracy for centuries. Map 10 shows that Malaysia shares waters with two important neighbours, thus making implementation of the law an extremely difficult task. With other long-standing political issues between these countries, combating piracy remains a challenge. Statistics provided by the IMB have shown a threefold increase over the last decade and nearly two thirds of these attacks have occurred in the SEA region (Bradford, Manicom, Simon & Neil 2010). During this time, SEA was labelled the most active piracy zone with seven key ‘pirate-prone’ areas, and in the year 2000 alone, piracy in this area represented 65 per cent of aggregate worldwide occurrences. In 2002, Indonesia’s waters were recognised as the world’s most piracy-pervaded.

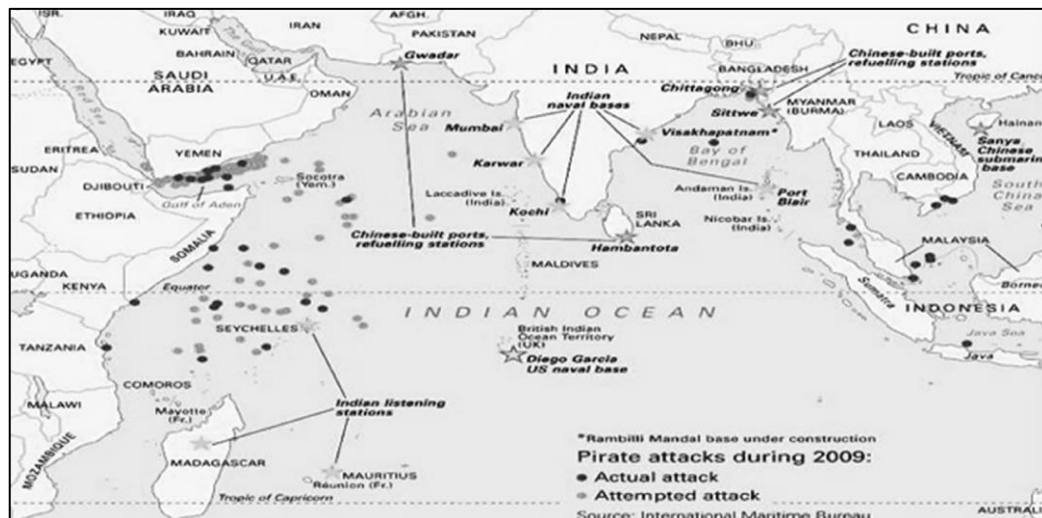
The increasing piracy menace has raised concerns among ship owners, and this has led responsible littoral states such as Malaysia to overcome the problem of piracy at SOM, continuing to ensure a peaceful environment for ship navigations. The UNGA in 2008 approached all states, specifically those with districts on the seashore, to adopt essential and proper actions to anticipate and fight the occurrences of piracy and armed robbery at sea.

In addition to this, since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, deeper concerns have arisen about the links between piracy and terrorism. This is because of the ease with which pirates carrying out attacks can be seen as a terrorist group doing likewise, with

much graver outcomes (Vavro 2008). As a result, piracy has to some degree been associated with sea terrorism, and the two have subsequently been bracketed together in general communications and government explanations. The Bush administration, for example, regarded terrorism as shameful as piracy, the slave trade and genocide, and some people believe that sea robbery constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security (Keyuan 2005).

There is a definite boundary between Malaysia's waters and those of Indonesia in the Singapore Strait, where the lanes of the traffic separation scheme (TSS) pass through the 10-mile-wide Singapore Strait between the Riau Archipelago and the Malay peninsula. However, the TSS lanes also pass through the 40-mile-wide SOM between Sumatra and the west coast of Malaysia, and there, no EEZ boundary is agreed upon between Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur (Bradford, Manicom, Simon & Neil 2010.) In both locations, piracy is a huge concern for Malaysia in the EIOR.

Map 11: Pirate attacks in the Indian Ocean Region



Source: International Maritime Bureau Piracy Centre

This is also the case for the act of high seas piracy, which is truly a major concern for MIMSC in the EIOR. Most seaborne attacks, which take place at the territorial seas of a coastal state, makes the crime fall into the responsibility of that particular coastal state (Rothwell 2009), often causing serious problems. Piracy is believed to be a major concern, with special reference to India's involvement in handling the pirate

attack off Somalia.¹⁶² India is located quite near to Somalian seas and this proximity largely influences India's concern about Somalian pirate attacks. For Malaysia, the concern is more to do with the growth of the Somalian pirate networks, with their potential flow into the EIOR.

Recently, however, piracy-related occurrences appear to have flowed the other way – westwards from the SOM and the SCS into the Bay of Bengal and towards the Arabian Sea. It appears that the magnitude of piracy concentration may be in the EIOR, a major SLOCs of Malaysia-India. There is additionally, by all accounts, a shift in piracy style that is happening. Previously the attacks were of the sort termed 'Asian piracy', which normally meant taking comparatively unimportant resources from boats with little violence. The risk of this type of attack still, however, remains; both Malaysia and India are vulnerable to it, and accordingly it rates high in the moulding of MIMSC in EIOR.

Table 4: Actual and Attempted Piracy Attacks 2009–2014 in the Southeast Asia Region and India

LOCATION	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Malacca Straits	2	2	1	2	1	1
Malaysia	16	18	16	12	9	24
Singapore Straits	9	3	11	6	9	8
Indonesia	15	40	46	81	106	100
Thailand	2	2	-	-	-	2
India	10	5	6	8	14	13

Source: International Chamber of Commerce International Maritime Bureau. Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships: Annual Report 2014

It is clear that both Malaysia and India are facing a common risk in the EIOR in terms of this issue. Hence, India is likely to seek partnership with a littoral state with similar concerns. Malaysia would be an important partner for India because it is located on

¹⁶² India Individual Interview 1.

the busiest routes of the SOM in SEA waters, so is bound to suffer from a high number of pirate attacks.

The problem however is that, as already mentioned, pirates have various cunning ways of moving about within the grey area of water boundaries, making it challenging to identify the specific role of any country in acting against piracy and sea robbery. Not all countries have the competence to match the threats that are occurring around them at sea, and in addition to this, the different forms of law enforcement weaken countermeasures and at the same time allow pirate activities to increase continuously in the EIOR.

This is the current situation for both Malaysia and India, and the differences between them are weakening the potential collaboration between them. Both countries have challenges in terms of carrying out arrangements and other forms of law enforcement, especially in view of the fact that international laws on piracy do not have any significant bearing on attacks within a coastal state's own waters. Due to the limitations set out by the UNCLOS, it is left to the country in whose waters an attack is carried out to implement its own form of law enforcement.

Global or regional collaboration is the best solution for piracy occurring on the high seas. The many pirate attacks in Somalian waters have gained international attention, and the UNSC has been addressing this issue since the early 1990s. The UN, for instance, worked with the Somalian Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in order to bring law and order not only within Somalia itself, but also in relation to its territorial waters (Rothwell 2009). In 2008, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1816 to address this issue directly. Encouraging global cooperation, the UNSC sought assistance from and collaboration by major countries, and as a result different states offering backing included Russia, Malaysia, India, Iran, China, Turkey, South Korea and Singapore (Rothwell 2009).

In light of this progress, the EU instigated Operation Atlanta in December 2008 to battle piracy off the coast of Somalia, with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) handing over its counter-piracy operation, Allied Provider, to the EU as required by the UN in 2008 (Rothwell 2009). The range of participating countries shows that although this issue took place on the far western side of the IOR, it is genuinely accepted that acts of piracy in Somalian waters are of international concern, and both Malaysia and India see it that way. Another important step was taken by the UNSC in 2008 to approve 'ship rider' understandings, in order to

encourage more effective law enforcement (Chalk 2009).

This arrangement shows that both countries can escape this situation, and it is vital for both to seek common grounds in law enforcement to overcome these issues. Geography is not a limiting factor relating to pirate attacks in the IOR, and therefore this must also be the case relative to Malaysia and India in the EIOR.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, under the current structure of the international framework, it is expected that the risks posed by this issue will remain unresolved. An organised structured is required, beginning with an accurate definition of piracy. This could be clustered based on area and water boundaries by relevant countries and a realistic implementation system. Although a wide range of participating countries would be required for this to be realised, as well as a strong change in attitude, it could help reduce and overcome the challenging piracy issue.

6.22 *Terrorism at Sea*

Terrorism at sea (TAS) is another issue closely related to piracy, and it is of increasing concern around the IOR. TAS incidents have various objectives, but fundamentally their instigators “may try to bring about human setbacks, monetary losses, ecological harm, or other negative effects, alone or in combination, of minor or significant result” (Farell 2007).

One of the most extreme TAS areas in the world is the SEA region. Such attacks and activities in this region are more likely to take place in the SOM because it is one of the most important SLOCs for economic and military voyages. Water as a medium to conduct terrorist activities cannot be ignored (Khurana 2004). It is the cheapest means of transportation in the entire world, and the most concentrated medium for illegal activities, because it does not have clear water boundaries amongst states. This means that the littoral states around the SOM must consider TAS as a major part of their maritime security portfolio. India relies upon the consumption of 38 million barrels of oil per day, 80 per cent of which originate from the Gulf and come in through the IOR. India’s primary interests are therefore to handle TAS and piracy that take place off Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Given that India’s fuel supplies also go through the SOM, it is unsurprising that Indians have demonstrated as much enthusiasm as they have over yonder. Indian authorities have stated that it is to India’s greatest advantage to guarantee that the sea

¹⁶³ India Individual Interview 1.

remains crime free.

Currently, Muslim fundamentalist, separatist or radical groups carry out most TAS attempts in Indian waters. Several incidents could increase the level of intensity of TAS in the EIOR, requiring close cooperation between Malaysia and India; for example, the al-Qaeda attack on the French tanker *Limburg* in 2002, and the Lashkar-e-Taiba utilisation of a maritime methodology in its terrorist attack on Mumbai in 2008 (Farrell 2007). Other terrorist groups that have been active in the maritime domain in the IOR comprise the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka and the Al Shabaab activist gathering of southern Somalia.

In SEA for instance, in 2000 the Filipino ferry *Our Lady of the Mediatrix* was bombed by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), killing 40 individuals and injuring 50 more (Banlaoi 2008). In 2000, a suicide boat from Aden attacked the USS *Cole*. An Abu Sayaf Group seized various Western sightseers from resorts in Malaysia in 2000, and from the Philippines in 2001 (Massey 2008). While maritime terrorist attacks have not actually taken place in the SOM, Jemaah Islamiyah is known to want to attack US Navy vessels going to and through it (Storey 2008). Numerous security analysts point to the SOM as a potentially attractive centre for different terrorist groups with maritime capacities. In June 2005, taking into account their appraisal of the SOM, Lloyd's Joint War Committee added it to its list of perilous waters (Massey 2008).

Despite the gravity of these attacks and the potential for terrorist groups to continue taking advantage of the relatively less well-regulated maritime realm, the phenomenon of maritime terrorism remains relatively under-studied. Indeed, over the past decade, much of the scholarly discussion on maritime security in the IOR has focused on piracy and armed robbery at sea. The intensity of these issues led to global collaboration in constructing a more effective structure to combat these challenges. A better framework is important, especially in the light of 9/11 when the threat of TAS increased, gaining global recognition under the Bush administration.

Another increasing concern, along with the TAS, is the abuse of flag of convenience (FOC) shipping by these interest groups. Al-Qaeda for example is known to adopt a tactical move. These groups were believed to sail under fake registered flag that are intractable. This allows them to smuggle illegal items such as drugs and WMD materials through water.

TAS connections with container traffic were acknowledged after the search of a tanker by the USA naval force in January 2002 revealed a group of al-Qaeda terrorists stowed away inside a well-prepared container. This revelation provoked an increase in the observation of ships and container lorries leaving Afghanistan for Pakistani ports. However, with the intensity of ship movements each day, inspections were not possible for each ship. This leaves considerable room for non-state actors to utilise this weakness to carry illegal items without any legal problems. The situation threatens to pose enormous problems because this vulnerability can be misused in various ways, from carrying drugs to arms and ammunition. One such example is bin Laden's payload vessels, which delivered supplies in Kenya for the suicide groups who then besieged USA international safe havens in Kenya and Tanzania.¹⁶⁴ A few terrorist organisations in and around the IOR have trader armadas of different sorts; the vast majority of these fly the flags of the FOC 'pan-ho-lib' nations – Panama, Honduras and Liberia – and are hard to track down, as they routinely change names and registry (Ghosh 2004).

The Container Security Initiative (CSI) is a vital step towards tackling this issue. However, at present the CSI does not cover any port in the IOR (Durban, South Africa, and Colombo, Sri Lanka, are expected to join soon, along with Kelang, Malaysia, and Tanjung Priok, Indonesia). Also, numerous small countries with less competence or financial strength find the CSI to be a hindrance to their typical trade and indeed a way of obstructing their trade.

Malaysia has obvious economic enthusiasm for local maritime security given its reliance on seaborne exchange, especially through the SOM. In the meantime, Malaysia, like Indonesia, is worried about any potential infringement of its power. Terrorist groups are well on their way to targeting seaborne business in straits, where boats are obliged to moderate their speed and limit their movements as a result of geographical limitations and navigational dangers (Power 2008). The nature of the SOM, being only about 40 miles wide over the 200-mile length of its south-easternmost part, provides plenty of opportunities for such attacks. In addition, the aftermath of 9/11 reported that a significant number of terrorist groups are operating in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. This has turned the main focus of attention to

¹⁶⁴ Knight Ridder/Tribune, 'US Ports Represent Weakness in Nation's Defenses, Analysis Shows', October 30, 2001. Retrieved from http://www.military.com/Content/MoreContent/1,12044,FL_ports_103001,00.html. (25th July 2013).

transnational issues, which soon started focussing on the SOM, bringing to the fore the topic of Malaysia's influence.

Malaysian authorities have repeatedly stated that they will neither operate joint patrols, nor directly enter into another state's waters. Malaysia has also forbidden the representatives of other countries to operate in its own waters. Domestic sensitivities have a critical impact on the Malaysian government's reaction to territorial maritime threats. As in Indonesia, the Malaysian administration needs to combat fundamentalist Islamic groups in the public eye, under standard legislative issues. Despite the above considerations, however, Malaysia is quick to play a proactive and productive part in local issues. Malaysia has been involved in a few local maritime security initiatives, including founding the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), and has facilitated the IMB's territorial piracy focus. The foundation of the MMEA will without a doubt help to support the efficacy of its maritime security endeavours. In that way, the diligent work done by Malaysian law enforcement organisations has reflected some positive outcome and has been applauded by nations such as the USA and Australia.

6.23 *Other Illicit Activities*

Weak government structures and a restricted ability to control maritime resources and domains have resulted in the burgeoning of a wide range of illicit activities in many parts of the IOR, such as human smuggling, weapon smuggling, drug smuggling and the transport of illegal immigrants. The distance between Malaysia and India may be a factor contributing to the fact that these illicit activities have less of an impact on these two countries than the effects of transnational activities between some other countries, given that with globalisation, all states are connected and such threats are present in all forms right across the IOR.

The trafficking of illicit narcotics, weapons, and people by water is of huge concern in the IOR. There are a large number of reasons for such forms of transport in the specific countries that suffer from the negative effects of perpetual instability and/or corrupt authorities, resulting in a plethora of these illicit activities. While the trafficking of narcotics, weapons, and people continues to be of greatest concern, the transport of oil, cigarettes, charcoal, khat, imperilled species of animals and other booty is also commonplace (Pandya 2011).

India lies between the three biggest heroin and opium producing countries in world – Afghanistan, Pakistan and Myanmar – bringing about clashes on their borders where they link major drug production with transporting zones. Furthermore, Sri Lanka suffers greatly from the proliferation of arms; Sri Lankan guerrillas have penetrated deeply into the drug world, expanding its capacity to resist the Sri Lankan army. Added to this, the famous narcotic producing and illicit arms trading regions of the ‘Golden Crescent’ and the ‘Golden Triangle’ are located in the IOR region. This geographical association is further strengthened by its central location, with the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal providing superb waterways for the seaborne supplies of both arms and narcotics (Rao 2012).

In terms of narcotics and heroin smuggling, the ‘Golden Triangle’ countries of Thailand, Laos and Myanmar present a serious challenge to Malaysia. In 1952, Malaysia implemented an anti-drug law act, which shows that drug issues have immense implications for Malaysia. Even so, drug smuggling takes place on a large scale within Malaysia itself, triggering alarm amongst the Malaysian authorities. Map 12 shows the drug trail between India and Myanmar, which is situated at the heart of the ‘Golden Triangle’, between Thailand and Laos. Malaysia, bordering Thailand, is directly affected. Table 5 shows drug trafficking from the ‘Golden Crescent’ to Malaysia via Pakistan. Both the ‘Golden Crescent’ and the ‘Golden Triangle’ have impacted Malaysia in enormous ways making it a serious concern.

Map 12: Drug Trail between India and Myanmar



Source: www.indiaoutlook.com

Table 5: Drug Cases Involving Malaysia-India via Pakistan 2011-2014:

NO	LOCATION	ITEMS	COUNTRY	DESTINATION	MEDIUM	VALUE
1	Selangor	Heroin	Pakistan	Malaysia	Sea	RM 110 million
2	Kuala Lumpur	Heroin	Pakistan	Malaysia	Sea	RM 2.55 million
3	Johor	Ketamine, Syabu, Psycho-tropic pills and Codeine	Pakistan	Malaysia	Sea	RM 5.2 million

Source: Narcotics Department, Royal Malaysian Police.

The principal drug of interest to transnational criminal groups in the IOR is heroin, produced from the opium poppy, which is cultivated primarily in the two above-mentioned regions: the ‘Golden Triangle’ and the ‘Golden Crescent’. Although the ‘Golden Triangle’ spans three different countries, it is an area that shares common major attributes i.e. opium growing, remote upland territories, minority populations, astonishing ethnic variety, and a long history of uprising. The ‘Golden Crescent’ embraces Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, and it has developed as the main heroin producing region of the world.

Drugs such as marijuana, too, go from Nepal to India, and from Iran-Pakistan-India huge amounts of methamphetamines (meth) and ketamines are smuggled into Malaysia. The Royal Malaysian Police (RMP) authorities argue that the ketamines in Malaysia mostly come from India, as a huge number of ketamines are manufactured there, in centres such as Chennai and New Delhi.¹⁶⁵ Mumbai is also a major hub for the production of ketamines, having many strong connections with Indians living in Malaysia. Their price in India is very low, and then they are sold at a much higher price in Malaysia.¹⁶⁶ One of the latest trends is arising in Nigeria, where Indian and Malaysians girls are exploited for the smuggling of drugs between Malaysia and India.

In the mid-1990s, heroin became the main illicit opiate, and something of a world drug. About 80 per cent of the heroin in Europe and 20 per cent of the heroin

¹⁶⁵ Malaysia Group Interview 3.

¹⁶⁶ 1 kilo, costing RM1,000 in India, is sold in Malaysia for RM40,000

in the USA originates from the ‘Golden Emerald’. In 1996 the end of one particularly violent phase in the civil war in Afghanistan and the concomitant repatriation of refugees resulted in extended local heroin production. The expansion of this trade was assisted by the expanding potential for opium cultivation in central Asian nations such as Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, through their ethnic connections with Afghanistan. Drug trafficking (and the laundering of drug money) represents what is by far the most important category of illicit trade in and around the Indian Ocean (Chatterjee 2014).

Small arms trafficking in the region was an unsurprising result of the Afghan wars, first affecting Pakistan, and now becoming a more widespread problem. In India for example, the proliferation of small arms is changing the character of insurgencies, making them more violent and less susceptible to resolution. Huge numbers of illicit weapons and ammunition are trafficked, sponsoring terrorist activities. The networks in this region range from Iran to Yemen and then extend from Yemen both to the eastern Mediterranean via the Suez Canal, and to Somalia in the Horn of Africa (Burn 2012).

In the IOR, the most common types of weapon trafficking fall into the small arms and light weapons (SALW) category. Such weapons include anti-aircraft guns, anti-personnel mines, anti-tank guided missiles, anti-tank mines, assault rifles, C-4 plastic explosives, hand grenades, handguns/side arms, heavy machine guns, man-portable air defence systems (MANPADS), rocket-propelled grenades and flamethrowers, sniper rifles and surface-to-surface rockets – and of course ammunition for all of the above. This illicit activity was, and is, a major concern between Malaysia and India, and requires a strong level of MIMSC in the EIOR.

Illegal immigrants have been an issue for Malaysia for a long time. As Malaysia moved towards industrialisation, the need for local workers started to increase. To cater for the demand, the Malaysian government started to import workers from neighbouring nations, and this resulted in increased illegal immigration from the Philippines, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Thailand. Soon a notable number of workers from these nations started to stream into Malaysia, such as the persecuted Rohingya people of Myanmar, who are hoping to escape eventually to Mindanao in the Philippines.¹⁶⁷ These undocumented immigrants, known in Malaysia as PATI

¹⁶⁷ Illegal immigrants.

(*Pendatang Tanpa Izin*), are also alluded to as boat people, as they often use little boats to enter Malaysia unlawfully. There are huge numbers of PATI in Malaysia.¹⁶⁸

Gradually the small boat traffic evolved into much larger boats, the aim nevertheless being for illegal immigrants to avoid being identified. These groups of individuals worked out how to enter Malaysia wrongfully as well as trading in unlawful goods – for example, narcotics, cigarettes, liquor, weapons, and other illicit items – for the most part through the Sulu Sea, the SOM and the SCS. In addition, human smuggling has been a great challenge for Malaysia, for which two major routes have been identified: a) from Java via Johor Bahru and b) Sumatra via Penang and Negeri Sembilan.¹⁶⁹

Littoral states around these crucial waters need more control over these issues. Maritime border issues and sensitivity over touchy subjects may occur, making the task of securing maritime wards rather challenging. Relatively calm waters of the IOR, and most regions around it – south Asia, southwest Asia, the Gulf, and eastern Africa – continue to be zones of interminable local clashes. However, this should not be an obstacle for cooperation.

6.24 *Natural Disasters*

The risk of natural disaster is another priority area identified by both Malaysia and India. Marine natural disasters, a notable concern, include climate change, typhoons, tsunamis and other serious maritime conditions (Bateman 2015). The EIOR is currently specifically exposed to these problems as such disasters have become more frequent, and there is a lack of collaboration among countries relating to disaster management. Malaysia, India and other neighbouring countries should explore and develop suitable strategies for cooperation (Bateman 2015).

This lack of cooperation was clearly illustrated in the aftermath of the tragic tsunami disaster in the upper East Indian Ocean on 26 December 2004 and the terrible effects of Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar on 7 May 2008. The 2004 tsunami was one of the most dreadful disasters in recent years, killing people in 11 different nations around the EIOR. Maritime cooperation in the territories of catastrophe management needs to become of greater priority for humanitarian assistance.¹⁷⁰

According to a Swiss Re report, in 2013 there were 150 natural catastrophes

¹⁶⁸ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

¹⁶⁹ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

¹⁷⁰ India Individual Interview 1.

generating about USD37 billion in insured losses, and 158 man-made disasters resulting in additional losses of about USD8 billion (Miller 2015). The major man-made catastrophes in 2013 included fires and explosions, maritime, rail and aviation disasters, and terrorism and social unrest; the rest had to do with general safety issues such as aviation security (Athukorala and Resosudarmo 2005).

In December 2004, the world was shaken by the most deadly event in modern history. It was the most devastating natural disaster in the IOR – the tsunami which caused such significant damage to the coasts of Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, India, the Maldives, Malaysia and Burma; a total of 240,000 people are estimated to have died, and over a million displaced (United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2006). The economic cost of the tsunami for Sri Lanka, India, and the Maldives totalled USD3 billion. According to the report by the Malaysian Drainage and Irrigation Department, the first wave that hit the Malaysian coast was detected in the Langkawi Islands in the coastal areas of the southern states of Kedah, Penang and Perak. The resulting tsunami affected 200 kilometres of the Malaysian coastline, from Perlis to Selangor, causing 68 deaths, 6 missing, 91 hospitalised, 276 treated as out-patients and 10,564 people evacuated (Hussain, Weisaeth, and Heir 2011). The tsunami then slowly spread to the eastern coastline of India.

India alone demonstrated a poor record in terms of natural disaster statistics. From 1974 to 2003, India ranked third in the number of disaster events worldwide, second in the total number of disaster victims, and fifth in the amount of economic damage caused by disasters. From 2006 to 2008, the region was affected by 128 natural disasters, which resulted in 8,000 fatalities, of which the majority were water-related. On the other hand, Malaysia lies outside the Pacific Rim, and is thus relatively free from the severe ravaging and destruction caused by its natural disasters such as earthquakes, typhoons and volcanic eruptions (Malaysia Country Report 1999). However, the recent tsunami had caught Malaysia unprepared. Although the death toll was very much less than those of its neighbouring countries, the incident was very significant as it was the first time that Malaysia had ever suffered from a tsunami.

Malaysia was stunned by the after-effects of the earthquake, entrapped by its own ignorance of the tsunami. There had been no warning issued by any authorities to minimise the impact of the disaster. It is now necessary for Malaysia to be vigilant

against similar events in the future, and it is therefore a priority for the country to put in place an integrated tsunami emergency plan for better protection of future generations. Consequently, the Malaysian government has undertaken several actions to overcome this type of challenge. The measures include amendments to existing acts, laws and regulations, the establishment of forecasting and early warning systems, a disaster alert system, mitigation structures, public awareness and education programmes, a national disaster relief fund, the development of standard operating procedures, development programmes by Town and Country Planning Departments and bilateral, regional and international cooperation with a range of nations and agencies (Khurana 2009). In 2008, the government established a Malaysian National Tsunami Early Warning System (MNTEWS). It can give timely and effective early warning to the public in the event of a tsunami occurring over the IOR, the SCS, the Sulu Sea or the Pacific Ocean that affects Malaysia. It is an integral part of the Indian Ocean Tsunami Warning System (IOTWS) and the Northwest Pacific Advisory System (NPAS) coordinated by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, and the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The tsunami early warning system and infrastructure include 15 seismic stations, three technologically advanced deep-sea buoys, 16 tidal gauges, and four offshore cameras (Lauterjung, Rudloff, Münch, and Acksel, 2014). Deep ocean tsunami buoys in strategic locations in the seas surrounding Malaysia will form a network of sea-level observing stations. Coastal cameras have been installed at strategic locations along the Malaysian coastline to watch for early indications of a disaster on a 24-hour basis.

In addition, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (MOSTI) set up an Inter-Agency Committee for Earthquake and Tsunami Risk Management (IACETRM), which endorsed a comprehensive Seismic and Tsunami Hazards and Risk Study in Malaysia in September 2005 with an allocation of RM4 million (USD1.2 million) (Purohit, and Suthar 2012). There were a total of seven projects, conducted by a range of agencies and local universities, and one of the above projects was commissioned by the agency and coordinated by the Academy of Sciences Malaysia (ASM) (Said, Ahmadun, Mahmud and Abas 2011). This scenario anticipates that the maritime threat in the form of a natural disaster is slowly shaping Malaysia's maritime policy in the EIOR.

The aftermath of the 2004 tsunami likewise influenced India, emphatically forming its maritime strategy in the EIOR. The tsunami wreaked terrible damage in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, and in the union domain of Pondicherry. It destroyed a total of 2,260 km of Indian coastline. Tamil Nadu was the worst hit state, with more than 7,923 people killed (Shaw 2006). Fortunately, the mangroves that still existed in Pichavaram and Muthupet in Tamil Nadu absorbed much of the tsunami's energy, mitigating the tragedy, and saving lives and properties in those regions. However, all the 13 seaside areas were affected: the Nagapattinam region of Tamil Nadu lost 6,023 individuals (Billion and Waizenegger 2007). The death tolls in the Kanyakumari and Cuddalore areas were 817 and 606 individuals respectively (Rodriguez, Wachtendorf, Kendra and Trainor 2006).

In Andhra Pradesh, around 105 individuals lost their lives and 30 were missing after the tsunami-wreaked havoc along the state's 1,000-km coastline. Many of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands were affected by the tsunami. Of the 38 inhabited islands of Nicobar, 30 were damaged; the worst hit were Car Nicobar, Great Nicobar and the Nancowry group of islands. The satellite review reported that the level of flooding was by no means uniform throughout the islands.

The effects of the tsunami were so disastrous that many of the islands underwent a drastic change in their flat seaside terrains due to the massive flooding of salt water, resulting in a change of coastline and concomitant changes in the physical and marine environment. This was particularly the case for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Tamil Nadu. For example, the Pulomilo Island that was once joined with Little Nicobar was totally submerged, apart from a small ridge, and the western shorelines of Great and Little Nicobars were partially submerged (Chalk and Hansen 2012).

The Central Nicobar island of Trinket was completely overwhelmed and divided into three, undergoing a complete transformation. Later studies revealed enormous loss of human life in all the tsunami-affected zones as well as decimation of seaside settlements and offices, loss of fishing boats and degradation of agrarian grounds and backwoods with salinisation and contamination of the freshwater supplies. Observations of the damage suffered by the biosphere show increased levels of turbidity, resulting in a loss of essential habitats, the disturbance of breeding cycles, and the loss of various species of flora and fauna of ecological and economic

significance as well as fish and fisheries in the region (Paton and Johnston 2001).

Map 13: Areas Affected by the 2004 Tsunami in the Indian Ocean Region



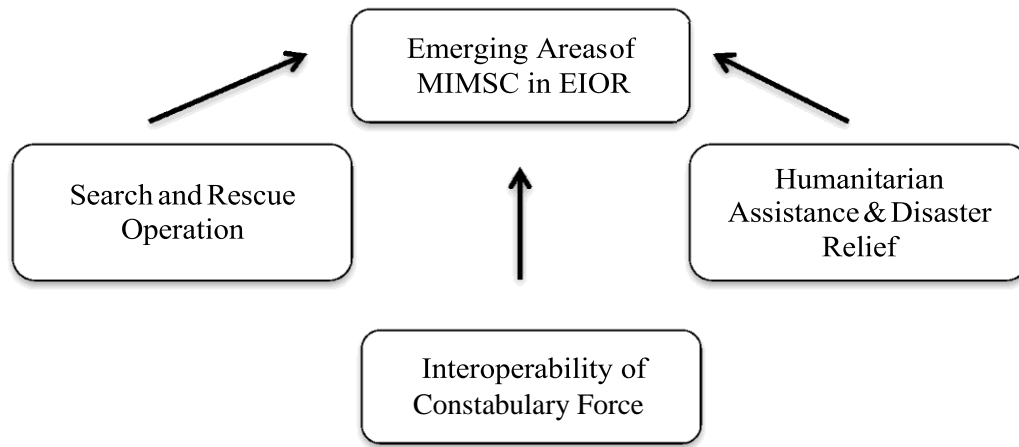
Source: GraphicMaps.com

The overall impact of the tsunami's aftermath changed India's approach to policies handling natural disasters, towards ways that share similar transnational characteristics with human-generated maritime threats. The Malaysian case is comparable. Malaysia's location apparently out of range of earthquakes and natural disasters was challenged by the 2004 tsunami, leading to various forms of policy implementation. As the impact and threat of natural disasters began to rise in importance for both countries, they also started shaping MIMSC in the EIOR.

6.3 Emerging Areas of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region

This section will discuss the emerging areas of MIMSC in the EIOR. It is conceivable that the conflated pressures of terrorism at sea, illicit trafficking of all kinds, and piracy and vessel hijacking will outweigh the international and regional community's ability to effectively respond to these issues in a sustained fashion. Decision makers must now look at the logic of adopting a 'management' approach to these challenges.

Diagram 5: Emerging Areas of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation in Mitigating Non-Traditional Threats in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region



The major IOR countries, including India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, and the extra-regional powers with interests in the region, such as China, Japan and the USA, have afforded huge importance to combating non-traditional threats to the region. Enforcing security in the SOM and other crucial areas such as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands has been an interest common to Malaysia and India in shaping stronger MIMSC in the EIOR.

New areas of cooperation could be in non-controversial areas, such as search and rescue ¹⁷¹ a genuine form of cooperation without any political intention. In combating non-traditional threats in the EIOR, Malaysia has affirmed that it would receive India's help with open arms, and has even suggested that an SAR exercise in the IOR would be most welcome. ¹⁷² SAR, through the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), is active in this region, but there is no specific area of cooperation.

Other areas for potential collaboration include disaster management. ¹⁷³ For example, in 2008, Australia and Indonesia agreed to establish the Australia–Indonesia Disaster Reduction Facility (AIFDR) to overcome the challenges posed by natural disasters. This includes information sharing as well as developing training and planning centres across the region through partnerships with the APEC, ASEAN

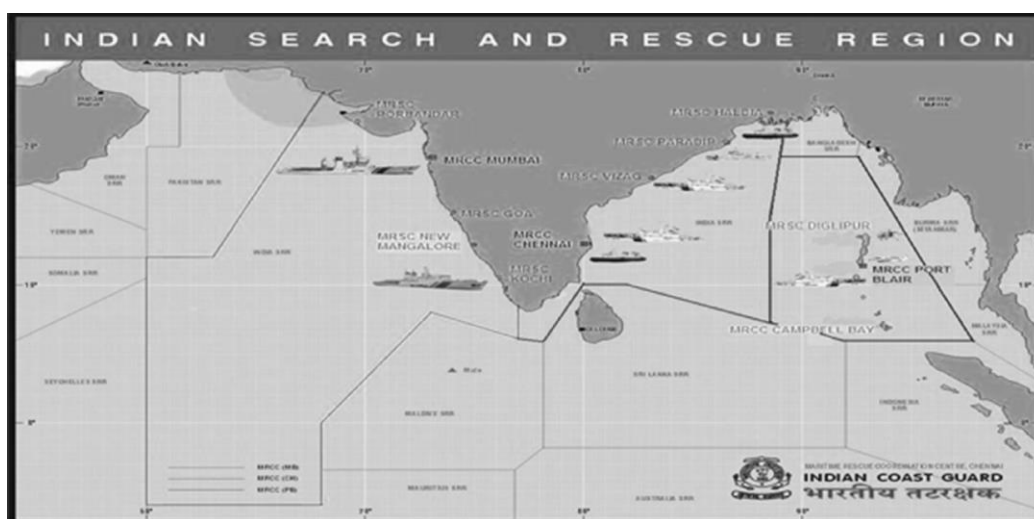
¹⁷¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

¹⁷² Malaysia Group Interview 1.

¹⁷³ Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

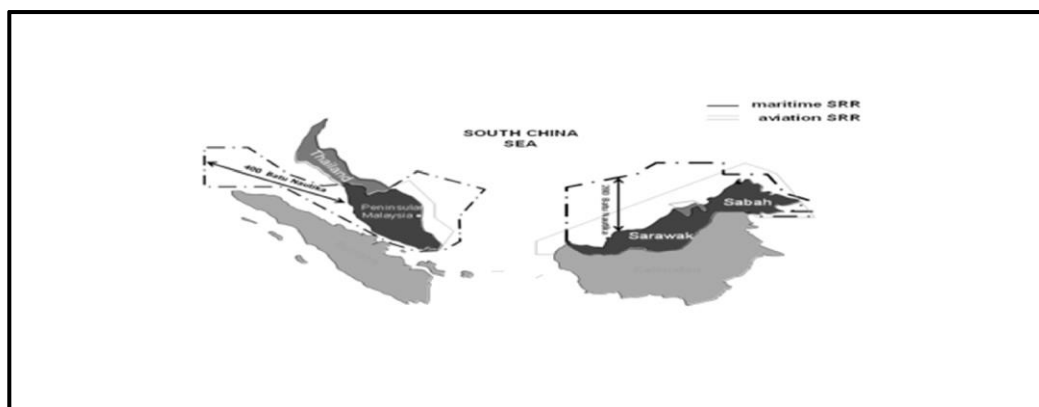
and the UN. There is potential for India to be included in the work of the AIFDR. Singapore also intends to establish a centre to coordinate humanitarian assistance and disaster relief coordination across the region, to be based in its Maritime Command and Control Centre at Changi Naval Base. Although there is no MOU between Malaysia and India, there is a strong understanding between them for cooperation on areas like SAR and surveillance, and ship escorts in the IOR.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, opportunities are seen relating to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, as they adjoin the SOM and are India's territory in SAR.

Map 14: Indian Search and Rescue Region



Source: Indian Coast Guard

Map 15: Malaysia's Search and Rescue Region



Source: Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency, Kuala Lumpur

¹⁷⁴ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

The initiative would involve mutual intelligence gathering, and joint patrolling of the strait if a decision was made to do so. However, while Singapore welcomed this initiative in its entirety, Indonesia and Malaysia vetoed the presence of any foreign troops in their territorial waters, resulting in difficulties. There is not much mutual cooperation between Malaysia and India on maritime security, but taking into consideration the threats posed in the EIOR, such cooperation – to include expertise in peacekeeping operations, collective training and security initiatives – is vital.¹⁷⁵

The MH370 incident showed up the shortfalls in Malaysia's surveillance and search-and-locate capabilities, particularly in maritime patrol aircraft (which are largely focused on the SCS – and even there the tiny maritime patrol fleet of the Royal Malaysian Air Force (RMAF) is stretched over the wide expanse of the Malaysian Maritime Zone).¹⁷⁶ The MH370 incident opened up a potential avenue for closer bilateral cooperation, such as information sharing and provisions for mutual assistance, in the area of maritime SAR. There would be prospects, as mentioned earlier, for India to provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), and SAR for a variety of reasons: as a net security provider using its comparatively larger resource capacity as it did for the tsunami HADR and the MH370 SAR mission. Disaster management and SAR could trigger a need for more effective collaboration after MH370 incident.¹⁷⁷ India also greatly assisted the IOR countries, including Indonesia, in the post-tsunami HADR, thus demonstrating its capacity as a security provider in this regard – another positive indicator for bilateral cooperation.

Another important aspect is enhancing the policing role between Malaysia and India in the EIOR. Describing the policing role of the navies in his classic work, *Navies and Foreign Policy*, Ken Booth (Booth 1983) confidently stated the role of police, border guards and coast guards in ensuring the safety and security of a country from maritime threats. The constabulary roles of these groups are fundamental for a stable environment at sea.

Although transnational activities such as smuggling, poaching and piracy were by no means new maritime activities in the Cold War period, they have continued to grow and at present the guardians of maritime borders face more challenges. The multifaceted quality of present-day maritime threats has, however, required changes

¹⁷⁵ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

¹⁷⁶ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

¹⁷⁷ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

in the policing element of maritime forces. The increase in the volume and recurrence of non-traditional maritime threats, their innovative nature and the refined systems of administration used by criminals of different types and subnational radical groups, have propelled affected countries to pay extra attention to these issues. In fact, these forces, typically occupied with directing the vigil and watching capacities in regional waters, are today undergoing serious difficulties in upholding maritime laws. The extensions of the sovereign maritime zones specified by the UNCLOS have also to a great extent expanded the security obligations of the coastal police forces.

Protecting the SLOCs and guaranteeing security at sea poses extreme difficulties for the maritime security powers. Given the complexity of the IOR in terms of facing maritime threats, this sphere of influence requires special attention. The naval forces give the impression that they are moving toward Ken Booth's threefold classification: diplomatic, military and policing. One fascinating point relating to coastal boundaries nowadays is that most big powers from other regions with stakes in the IOR and SLOCs are providing assistance to the development and redesign of coast guard forces amongst the littoral states. Japan, for instance, with its overwhelming reliance on the IOR's trade and energy security, has been giving significant guidance to the coastguard contingents of Southeast Asian coastal states such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam by giving them budgetary and specialised help intended to upgrade their ability to curtail piracy attacks.

Australia is another example. It has been providing assistance to SEA countries on patrolling in order for the latter to fight against poaching, smuggling, illicit migration of individuals and armed robbery. Likewise, Australia also consistently undertakes bilateral and multilateral activities with Southeast Asian naval forces. Australia has also set up a Joint Offshore Protection Command, as well as the Coast Watch, to counter terrorism and ensure the security of its offshore energy resources. Similar efforts should be led by India in its attempt to draw a closer relationship with Malaysia in the EIOR. Additional participation in multilateral maritime activities supported by the ARF will create more momentum in this direction.

In light of the developing security pressures on regional waters, a few Asian naval forces are upgrading the power and capacity of their coast guards, as well as those of their regular naval forces. Malaysia has of late framed an MMEA and is

arranging its own form of a coast watch. On the other hand, the Indian government has chosen to set up nine coast guard stations, as well as the current 13, to bring under greater observation the nation's 7,500 kms of coastline. The Indian Coast Guard, which has 70 ships and 30 aircrafts, is likewise approved to hire or contract extra vessels from the worldwide business sector. The Indian security service is also arranging the procurement of cutting edge equipment and interceptor boats on a highly optimised plan of attack basis, so that courses of action for expanding the security of Indian waters can be set up ahead of schedule, as can be expected under the circumstances. For example, the Mumbai style attack in 2008 alerted Indian Coast Guards to form marine police headquarters in major areas of the Indian coastline for quick patrolling and enforcement.

While this is the case, it would be fair to argue that setting up circles of patrolling systems comprising coastal patrolling, marine police, and other types of patrolling groups can be challenging. With each country having different levels of competency, an integrated maritime setting is a task that requires time and considerable effort. Moreover, it is difficult to please all participants. For example, in the coast guard debate in Australia, Chris Barrie, a previous Royal Australian Navy chief of naval operations, stated:

We (Australians) frequently don't give careful consideration to working with different individuals from our maritime group for basic purposes' and he thinks about how, between the naval forces and coast guard, one could maintain a strategic distance from 'duplication of exertion and extra overheads, regardless of what sort of administration structure and operating frameworks were placed set up' (Cordner 2010).

Nevertheless, increasing the interoperability between the constabulary forces of both Malaysia and India would be a good investment, promising stronger MIMSC in the EIOR.

6.4 Conclusion

The Red Sea coast, the SOM and the SOH have all been favourite spots for terrorist attacks, and India needs to build a strong counter-terrorism system by the coordination of information gathering, evaluation, crisis management, training and exercises. Arms smuggling and drugs used to support terrorist activities are being constantly traded throughout the 'Golden Crescent', the 'Golden Triangle' and the

Bay of Bengal, and this requires maritime observation and regular patrolling by both Malaysia and India. Piracy is another consistent activity, which frequently happens in a large number of the primary choke points, necessitating regular patrolling. Finally, natural disasters occur frequently, demanding viable collaboration between Malaysia and India in emergency situations. In order to mitigate these maritime threats, three major emerging areas are identified: SAR, HADR and the interoperability of marine police forces and coast guards. These areas of cooperation, if realised, would result in stronger MIMSC in the EIOR. The next chapter discusses the factors critical to the success of MIMSC in the EIOR.

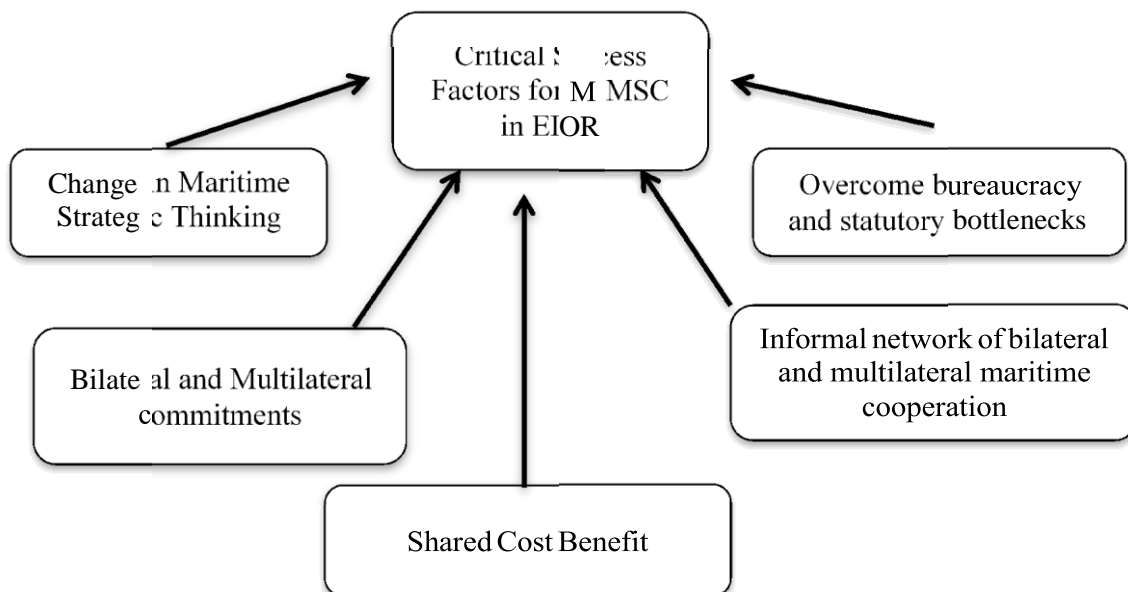
CHAPTER 7

FACTORS CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF MALAYSIA–INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the success factors vital for shaping new areas of maritime collaboration identified for MIMSC in the EIOR. Whilst this thesis seeks to examine the potential opportunities for Malaysia and India in the areas of maritime partnership, the successful attainment of this objective is highly dependent upon identifying the factors that discourage more sustainable maritime cooperation. A discussion of the gaps in the relationship will elicit a more substantial answer to help provide strong MIMSC in the EIOR.

Diagram 6: Factors Critical to the Success of Malaysia–India Maritime Security Cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region



The IOR is recognised as a complex geographical sphere with its own devolved interests. Within its complexity, it appears that cooperation amongst states is better in the areas of economy and trade than in security. This is largely due to distrust, and to a lack of interstate action relating to security, which involves each individual state's national and sovereignty issues. However, in this globalised world, many countries do now realise that there is much to be gained through inter-state cooperation and little through unilateralism. This is all the more so in the case of maritime security, because of its universality. It is clear that maritime cooperation can contribute much towards enhancing maritime security, managing disasters, providing humanitarian assistance and controlling environmental security challenges (Chatterjee 2014).

With the end of the Cold War, a cooperative outlook has been evolving, shaping positive outcomes in international relations. Hence, although some constraints will undoubtedly remain – most notably, interstate distrust, and acute sensitivities over sovereignty – cooperation should grow incrementally.

7.2 Bilateral and Multilateral Commitment

There is a need for bilateral and multilateral commitment by both Malaysia and India in the EIOR.

Bilateral cooperation can be viewed as a more effective choice of communication than multilateral commitment, because it involves two individual countries with particular interests in hand. India has already engaged in a number of regional maritime programs with Malaysia, and their diplomatic ties are mature.¹⁷⁸ India's focus is on the EIOR, where the relationship between Malaysia and India is long-standing. Therefore, it is in the EIOR that both countries need to redefine their maritime relationship.¹⁷⁹ A vital shift in strategic thinking in the Malaysian government is fundamental in order to ensure a sounder and clear maritime relationship with India.¹⁸⁰

Multilateral cooperation is an arrangement that takes account of the interests of many different countries and types of nations. This kind of arrangement can often become biased, because at any time a more powerful state can impose on weaker

¹⁷⁸ India Individual Interview 1.

¹⁷⁹ India Individual Interview 2.

¹⁸⁰ India Group Interview 1.

states. As a result, such cooperation often meets with failure. Bilateral arrangements on the other hand can match the needs of both countries equally and create a match in all factors, such as their roles, responsibilities and interests, as well as the intended outcomes. In this way, cooperation can minimise disorientation and disconnect in relationships, and most importantly reduce distrust relating to issues and areas that constantly prevent more resilient cooperation.

A bilateral arrangement is an obvious choice in the case of Malaysia–India, because the two countries have established a strong relationship for centuries, and have adopted cooperative outlooks in their overall foreign policies.

In mitigating non-traditional threats, for instance, there are several maritime security initiatives in the SOM. One of the most publicised initiatives is the Malacca Straits Coordinated Patrol (Malsindo), established in July 2004 (Vavro 2008). It is a joint patrolling system amongst littoral states. However, there are huge differences between a joint patrolling system and combined patrolling system. Combined patrolling systems are usually conducted under a large umbrella of command structures with a singular code and conduct instructed by a sole power. Combined patrolling may face tricky issues, for instance in the balance of interoperability. Engaging with a stronger country may lead a weaker country to face domination in terms of command, and this can cause distrust in the partnership. A stronger country may also feel that it is engaging in the partnership with little or no benefits in return, as the weaker party will have less to offer. However, establishing joint patrolling between two interested parties will be more efficient, as it can create an equal balance of the benefits it can offer to both partners.

The ‘Eyes in the Sky’ programme, which is part of the broader Malacca Straits Security Initiative (MSSI) comprising Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, faces similar problems to those inherent in combined patrolling. Initiated in 2005, the ‘Eyes in the Sky’ is a programme to guard the SOM from piracy. The initiative is expected to be a good collaboration to curtail piracy attacks because it involves three major countries that have authority in the SOM. However, the programme is considered to be less effective because of overlapping water territories. At the same time, all three countries ensure that no single power dominates the arrangement. As a result, combined patrolling systems often meet with disappointment. In addition to the constraints engendered by the laws of the sea, all three countries face other political issues in the region resulting in a lack of trust between them, and this

naturally has an impact on the positive engagement between them.

Seeking the cooperation of a stronger maritime power could therefore help balance maritime capabilities, and also counteract efforts to curtail maritime challenges in the straits. Hence whilst more openness is required from SEA countries, a country such as Malaysia could equally well accept friendship from an emerging power like India to form a similar cooperation. Malaysia, after all, does not have overlapping territories or disputed maritime areas with India (whereas Malaysia does have disputes with Singapore over Pedra Branca; the Philippines, Vietnam and China over the Spratly Islands; and Indonesia over Ambalat). Bilateral cooperation between India and Malaysia could be easily shaped, based on a mutual maritime interest in the security of the straits and the safety and wellbeing of its users, without jeopardising relations with, or indeed causing any suspicious behaviour in neighbouring countries.

Although this could be the case, there may be one underlying issue that discourages strong MIMSC in EIOR: a lack of trust. One example is the idea of establishing an Information Sharing Centre (ISC) in 2001 by Japan. The Japanese-led Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery (ReCAAP) initiative has not materialised, because the three major countries – Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore – that share marine boundaries all want the centre to be established within their own territory. This is also because all three countries are concerned about Japan's maritime role, which appears to be more than one of securing the SLOCs and mitigating non-conventional threats. Concern remains in terms of Japan's long-run interest in gaining a toehold in the region. Engaging in initiatives such as ReCAAP is the beginning of a direct presence and involvement in the larger context of maritime security in the SEA region. Except for Singapore, neither Malaysia nor Indonesia have endorsed. This is because Japan has mostly concentrated on training and resources without the involvement of any functional activities, which would require more openness between the countries in question.

Malaysia's behaviour vis-à-vis the big powers in the EIOR on the maritime front can also be seen in the case of the USA. In 2002, the USA placed Southeast Asia as an important region in focus to curtail terrorism activities, and this led the USA to increase its presence in the region. After the 9/11 attacks, the shift that took place towards focusing on the SEA region as a terrorist hub led the USA to increase its naval presence in the region. In March 2004, Washington proposed the Regional

Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI), which was viewed as a complement to the US-led Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) (Hofmeister and Rueppel 2014). However, the USA was denied a permanent naval presence in the SOM.

In mitigating traditional threats, bilateral cooperation is seen as a difficult task. The ‘Eyes in the Sky’ initiative shows that the three states have good leadership and the will to progress in the right direction without compromising national sovereignty.¹⁸¹ However, Asian countries should take the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an example. NATO has a multilateral defence programme – the Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) – which is considered to be one of its crown jewels in combating and detecting enemy aircraft. The Southeast Asian ‘Eyes in the Sky’ programme, in comparison, focuses merely on piracy, a non-traditional threat.

The AWACS program involves 16 countries.¹⁸² The UK also has its own specific unit of E3D AWACS aircraft, which is linked to the overall NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control Force programme.¹⁸³ Both of these highly successful programmes show that it would not be impossible for the IOR to have its own multilateral defence and security programme. NATO’s New Strategic Concept established the term ‘corporate security’, which could be easily applied to maritime security in the IOR. The general problem is the presence of ‘sea blindness’ which refers to the phenomenon that maritime security is often taken as a given and does not need further attention.¹⁸⁴ History provides clear evidence of this maritime blindness in both India and Malaysia. This mind-set needs to be changed in Asian countries.

Indeed, participation in multilateral partnerships can be more realistic and meaningful. For example, India’s engagement with Malaysia through ASEAN will be very effective.¹⁸⁵ As Malaysia is a small nation, it is better for it to engage multilaterally, as ASEAN is a major instrument used by Southeast Asian nations to project a collective decision vis-à-vis issues pertaining to the region. Collective

¹⁸¹ Marine Talk. 2005. “Eyes in the Sky” Initiative. Retrieved from <http://www.marinetalk.com/articles-marine-companies/art/Eye-in-the-Sky-Initiative-BIM003102745IN.html> (7th July 2013).

¹⁸² The countries are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the UK and the USA.

¹⁸³ Collacutt. 2014. “An Eye in the Sky” Frontline Defence Magazine. Retrieved from http://www.frontline-defence.com/index_archives.php?page=121 (8th July 2013).

¹⁸⁴ EU-Asia Dialogue. 2012. Shaping a Common Future for Europe and Asia. Conference Report on Maritime Piracy and Security. 28th-30th of May 2012.

¹⁸⁵ India Group Interview 1.

decision-making is the principal characteristic of ASEAN. It promotes a regional architecture of peace and security, and it is strongly reliant upon mutual confidence building, dialogues and transparency.¹⁸⁶ Participation in regional maritime institutions such as ADMM-Plus and IONS is crucial, as it helps build habits of cooperation, mutual understanding and confidence, and most importantly, it creates spill overs into bilateral relationships.¹⁸⁷ Therefore India and Malaysia's participation in the multilateral regional maritime institutions complements Malaysia–India's bilateral cooperation and should help to shape stronger MIMSC in the EIOR.

However, the strength of the multilateral mechanism does not mean that a bilateral one is not possible or indeed should be overlooked in mitigating traditional security threats. During the Cold War, India's habit of engaging bilaterally with ASEAN was driven strongly by India's suspicious attitude towards the ASEAN platform. Although this mind-set is diminishing, there should be more constructive thinking, with a strong focus on bilateral participation.¹⁸⁸ It is time to move into a bilateral framework, so that both countries can share their maritime expertise directly with each other, a move that would be strategically valuable for both countries.¹⁸⁹

Perhaps in terms of bilateral security or defence cooperation between Malaysia and India, more persuasion may be required. Malaysia's passivity towards engaging India plays a part in the lack of bilateral engagement. Malaysia should be more assertive in engaging India in terms of defence cooperation, as Malaysia is currently complacent about its mature and friendly relationship with India. Most importantly, as India, Singapore and Indonesia all seek to have a blue water navy, in the long run Malaysia could further engage India and learn from India's experiences and achieve its ambition of becoming a blue water navy.

In a meeting in November 2015, the Malaysian and Indian Prime Ministers stated that the Malaysian embassy in Delhi was one of the earliest to be established. However, it is unfortunate that the areas of agreement in the Malaysia–India bilateral relationship are confined largely to trade, not defence.¹⁹⁰ The agreement focuses on trade relations alone, and there is no bilateral mechanism for defence or security

¹⁸⁶ India Group Interview 1.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ India Group Interview 2.

¹⁸⁹ India Individual Interview 1.

¹⁹⁰ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

cooperation except through ASEAN, ARF and ADMM Plus. A Malaysia–India bilateral cooperation could, however, help bolster both Malaysia and India’s positions in those multilateral institutions, giving more strength to MIMSC in the EIOR. These multilateral engagements, particularly through ASEAN, although welcome, should not be the only way to achieve cooperation. This is because although common security challenges can be discussed as agendas in these regional multilateral platforms, the implementation of these agendas may require a bilateral relationship. Perhaps to boost a Malaysia–India bilateral engagement, a discussion of non-conventional threats faced by the two countries, with a focus on relevant security levels, could be a good starting point.¹⁹¹

It is believed that India would also welcome a more proactive relationship with Malaysia if Malaysia were to be enthusiastic about developing a bigger maritime role for itself in the region. A bilateral mechanism for maritime cooperation is needed, and is critical for both navies in terms of talks and exercises.¹⁹² Malaysia’s lack of passion towards a more resilient maritime power, unlike that of its neighbouring Singapore, appears to be the cause of disengagement on bilateral terms.

Both bilateral and multilateral cooperation are critical components to shape stability in the IOR amongst affected countries. This is also the case for shaping a stronger MIMS in the EIOR. However, an underlying element for greater success in shaping this cooperation lies in the ability of both Malaysia and India to build a multi-layered structure comprising navies, coast guards and other related maritime agencies and forces. Each of these entities should set out their roles and capabilities. A list of issues should be written down in terms of their weapons, training, budgets, priorities, and types of communication and levels of commitment. This would help shape more effective and realistic cooperation.

Much-needed emphasis is required from both Malaysia and India on transoceanic security cooperation in the EIOR. Both countries should test all levels of cooperation such as regional, sub-regional, inter and intra-regional, and cooperation with international organisations. India is considered by many to be the leader in the IOR, and the India’s major role in the IONS and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) initiative is welcomed by many countries because of its

¹⁹¹ India Group Interview 1.

¹⁹² Malaysia Group Interview 1.

prospects to enhance maritime security cooperation in the IOR. Ggreat potential exists for both the international community and regional organisations to improve international cooperation, to strengthen security in the region, and to create a broad-based Indian Ocean security strategy that is acceptable to all (Potgieter 2012).

On the other hand, Malaysia is one of the founding members of ASEAN. As it is the 'ASEAN Way', consultation and consensus remain the basic principles of decision-making in ASEAN. As mentioned in Article 20, Charter ASEAN, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of the ASEAN Charter also stands to uphold key interests, among which are:

The promotion of regional solidarity and cooperation; mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations; renunciation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and avoidance of arms race; renunciation of the use of force and threat to use of force; non-aggression and exclusive reliance on peaceful means for the settlement of differences or disputes and enhancing beneficial relations between ASEAN and its friends and partners (Kuala Lumpur Declaration 2005).

As both Malaysia and India support this system, an investment in both a bilateral and a multilateral network is by no means discouraging, and this element shapes the structure of MIMSC in the EIOR.

7.3 Informal Networks of Bilateral and Multilateral Maritime Cooperation

As discussed earlier, bilateral and multilateral commitments are believed to be difficult to achieve, though not impossible. Hence, states can begin with informal bilateral and multilateral networks, increasing trust and understanding between all their members. Such networks can also reduce the costs of building further cooperative relationships if a certain level of understanding fails to be achieved and a decision is made to dissolve a partnership. The network begins with an informal platform with ad hoc groupings that may gradually be formalised towards a more mature and structured grouping, similar to other established bilateral and multilateral arrangements. This informal network is flexible but this does not mean that it has no essence in framework or objective. The idea draws upon the American 'hub-and-spokes' strategy of alliance building in Asia but, as is characteristic of networks, it does not necessarily require a 'hub' (Bradford 2005). Simply increasing the number of informal bilateral agreements within the region expands the network and binds

regional states more thoroughly into ever-greater cooperation (*ibid*). In short, it is a kind of connecting bridge towards a more profound and refined cooperation amongst countries.

The annual Cobra Gold military exercise held in Thailand is one such model established in 1982 as a bilateral maritime warfare exercise between Thailand and the USA (Bradford 2005). In 1999, Singapore joined in because of its good relationship with the USA. It has been receiving more participation ever since and has attracted countries such as Mongolia, Philippines, China and Japan. A similar type of leadership role is required in the case of India shaping its maritime relationship with Malaysia in the EIOR. Today, Cobra Gold can be recognised as one of those groupings which followed an informal structure and later grew into the region's most established formal multilateral cooperation network. In 2014, more than 13,000 service members from the USA, Thailand, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and South Korea participated, with China taking part in humanitarian projects, and other nations including Myanmar sending observers (Parameswaran 2015).

Another example of a network which strove as a strong patrolling grouping is the trilateral SOM patrols (involving Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia). For more than a decade, the trilateral patrols conducted by all three states provided an opportunity for bilateral cooperation. A further example is the IMO's comprehensive ISPS Code in July 2004. Through the ISPS, most ports and shippers of Southeast Asian states made substantial progress towards ratifying the efforts. Singapore especially took individual steps for early preparation and developed a clear roadmap of execution plans.

Nonetheless, despite earlier preparation, Singapore was unable to achieve a positive outcome. This implies that a partnership with regional powers is seen as vital to achieve positive implementation. Hence an external partner is required for much-organised cooperation, as in other mature maritime partnerships. Such an opportunity is what India is looking forward to, and should be utilised by both Malaysia and India.

The network involving Japan, Malaysia and the Philippines is another example. Japanese maritime interests in the region can be seen through the Japanese coast guard partnership with the members of SEA states. While Malaysia is a vital power in SOM, the Philippines is an important player at SCS. Japan has tried engaging with

these two countries on two different issues: antipiracy training with the Philippines Coast Guard, and reorganising the maritime security force structure of Malaysia (and Indonesia) and establishing a coast guard (Parameswaran 2015). Bilateral relationships with Japan are growing stronger, and as they mature they will naturally proliferate into a network through which the Malaysian and Philippine coastguards will develop greater trust in and understanding of each other through their common involvement with the Japanese (Parameswaran 2015). As India has a wide range of maritime capabilities and profound knowledge, it would do well to emulate Japan's performance, shaping a better MIMSC network in the IOR.

However, certain issues remain. Countries that form arrangements of informal cooperation also seek long-run benefits from each other. Although informal arrangements can be dissolved at little cost, the efforts taken to establish cooperation would be wasted without an effective plan for its execution. A proper study into the history of relative relationships, capabilities, and roles is essential to create a strong foundation for an informal arrangement before it is converted into a formal bilateral or multilateral cooperation. In mitigating non-traditional issues, cooperation is more easily shaped and the costs are low in contrast to dealing with traditional issues, which demand a higher cost. With sovereignty as a major issue for countries, the potential for cooperation in dealing with traditional issues remains low.

Although this is the case, table talks are common amongst countries. These entail platforms where countries have the liberty to express their needs on certain issues, especially when matters involve two specific countries. As a sovereign state, distrust may be present in dialogues, yet it is important to acknowledge that a lack of trust is not an obstacle to cooperation. Maritime security cooperation is one such type of issue and with globalisation, maritime security is one particular genre that requires a stronger push for further cooperation amongst countries.

When countries are able to identify the interests and factors that stop their own aims from being achieved, then both formal and informal arrangements have potential. There is a strong requirement to reanalyse Malaysia's foreign policy with India.¹⁹³ Exploring different types of maritime clustering would be a good start. Let us take the sub-regional link in the Bay of Bengal. The Bay of Bengal links the Andaman Sea with east-central India. It also abuts Myanmar. It is an common for

¹⁹³ India Group Interview 2.

both Malaysia and India in the EIOR. The entire area of the Malacca Strait and the Andaman Sea comprises the territorial sea and the EEZs/continental-shelf of the littoral states (Singh nd). This should act as an incentive for promoting regional maritime cooperation. The overlapping structure means that no single state can truly dominate, and so cooperation should be easy.

Another cluster could be formed by separating high-intensity issues involving arms, drugs and human smuggling, which have a direct impact on national security, from low-intensity issues such as illegal fishing, pollution and ecological damage. Other clusters could be around ad-hoc cooperation in response to emergency events or conflicts such as natural disasters. These clusters could slowly grow towards intraregional, interregional and mid-level cooperation, on a multilateral, trilateral or bilateral level, and finally form a strategic cooperation. These are the kind of inventions needed to shape MIMSC in the EIOR.

In the end, a clear direction of maritime purpose would solve the implementation of MIMSC in the EIOR. The structure should focus on specific elements, such as a state's quality and capability, its geographical location during crisis and peacetime, its influence on specific issues, its historical relationships with friends and foe, its current geopolitical scenario, and its domestic condition. A clear grasp of these elements would help both Malaysia and India to understand each other's maritime interests and shape stronger MIMSC in the EIOR.

For example, India spends more on its defence budget than does Germany – but Germany has better equipment, infrastructures and allies. Similarly, Singapore has more advanced maritime power than Malaysia. The level of importance given to a certain issue at a certain time, area or interest or geographical locality also conveys meaning. It can also denote a state's ability to cope with issues or conflict inadequately, partially or comprehensively. For example, India's assistance during the 2008 tsunami projected India's expression of soft power – a particular type of maritime capability – whilst Malaysia was completely unprepared for such an incident. As these are ratified, both states can come out of their comfort zones and shape comprehensive MIMSC in the EIOR.

7.4 Overcoming Bureaucracy and Statutory Bottlenecks

On the other hand, bureaucracy is an inherent feature of both countries. For better MIMSC in the EIOR, it is vital for both Malaysia and India to release the

strangleholds of their bureaucratic and statutory bottlenecks. Their very systems are believed to be hindering progress.¹⁹⁴ Their turgid systems, it seems, are holding back strategic thinking, and they are prevalent throughout top government circles in both countries.¹⁹⁵ The bureaucratic constraints in the relationship between the two countries are a matter of serious concern, as they keep the number of collaborations between Malaysia and India very low.

This is evident if one looks at the naval structure of both countries at a basic level. For example, the Malaysia Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA) separated from the Royal Malaysia Navy (RMN) in 2005 in order to boost efficiency in curbing maritime challenges to Malaysia and littoral states around Malaysian or international waters.¹⁹⁶ However, whilst the MMEA is one of 34 bodies in the Malaysian Prime Minister's department, the Indian Coast Guard is under India's Secretary of Defence. Hence, while issues pertaining to defence are dealt with directly, the Malaysian Prime Minister's department also deals with the economic planning unit, Islamic affairs and many more departments. Therefore the bureaucracy that needs to be dealt with is a discouragement to collaboration for both nations.¹⁹⁷

Law enforcement is another dimension in this issue. This is particularly prevalent in SOM. It is a territory shared by three important maritime countries in SEA (Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore). Although all three countries are responsible and work together for the safety of SOM, each country ensures no single power is dominant in this area. Therefore, law enforcement is a difficult task especially with three different countries concerned over sensitive subjects such as competition over territorial claims as well as resources.

The distortions of law enforcement within SEA countries are affecting the role of bigger powers in the region, even though they may seek cooperation in good faith. In fact cooperation is more difficult, because it involves stronger and more dominant powers. It is important for Malaysia to set clear sea laws in order to secure its position in its own territory, and so that at the same time it can open up with confidence to big powers like India.

Piracy is a type of transnational crime that is increasing in recent years, and

¹⁹⁴ India Group Interview 1.

¹⁹⁵ Malaysia Group Interview 3.

¹⁹⁶ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

more tactical moves are being conducted by pirates to escape law enforcements. SOM is one particular area that faces this challenge. Therefore it is important to have a well-defined definition of piracy. The standard definition of piracy is often taken from the 1982 UNCLOS which defines piracy as any:

Illegal act of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed on the high seas against another ship or aircraft, or against person or property on board such ship or aircraft.¹⁹⁸

The IMB on the other hand has created its own definition of piracy:

An act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the intent to commit theft or any other crime with the intent or capability to use force in furtherance of that act (Young and Valencia 2003).

A standard as well as an all rounded definition in addressing piracy is not present. This is the downfall for many countries addressing the piracy issue and hoping to shape a more refined law enforcement policy. It is more prevalent in the case of curtailing piracy at SOM, since the UNCLOS definition only discusses piracy that happens at high sea. The IMB has a refined definition, but it is still difficult for countries like Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia to tackle this threat. The SOM are shared by three overlapping countries and requires a more clearly defined role of the coastguard and other law enforcement agencies in tackling tactical moves of pirates that escape to neighbouring water territories. A clear definition of maritime rule and laws is obviously required.

Other than this, it is also vital for countries in SEA to take responsibility and recognise this as a universal threat. Besides Singapore, many other SEA countries have not addressed this issue adequately. Piracy attacks in the SOM, both actual and attempted, vary from year to year. More than half of the piracy attacks worldwide are concentrated in SEA especially at SOM, affecting Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. At the height of the attacks in 2003 there were a total of 154 and in 2006 there were a total of 71 (ICC International Maritime Bureau 2007). Therefore, it is also up to Malaysia to accept responsibility and recognise these issues in order to shape resilient MIMSC in the EIOR.

¹⁹⁸ United Nations, "Part VII," *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* (10 December 1982) Retrieved from http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm. (11 February 2008).

7.5 Shared Cost Benefit

Cost benefit is also a factor in the lack of collaboration of MIMSC in the EIOR.¹⁹⁹ This scenario can be seen in the collaboration of the defence industry. Out of the six clusters in Ministry of Defence (MINDEF), the maritime cluster stands out.²⁰⁰ India should be a major focus for Malaysia's commercial defence industry, as India is a high-consuming state that could greatly benefit the Malaysian naval industries.²⁰¹ Malaysia argues that buying or obtaining new technology from a new country/partner will involve high cost, especially in terms of training personnel and adapting to the new technology.²⁰² This is the very reason why the Malaysian navy, as well as the armed forces, prefer to use familiar technology.²⁰³ This attitude presents a drawback in the relationship.

In addition, it is Malaysia's development within the technology industry that will pique India's interest in collaboration, rather than the exchange of commodities such as palm oil for heavy weaponry and artillery.²⁰⁴ The most important determinant of a country's export or selling capability is the share cost and extent of loss.²⁰⁵ As such, when a win-win situation is projected by Malaysia, avoiding defence procurement through barter trade should lead to a strong commitment to defence cooperation with India. Also, as both Malaysia and India have a long-standing diplomatic relationship, this can be used to enable cooperation in the Malaysia-India defence industry. As the Malaysian industry is focused on local consumption, it is expected that sales will be low, thus lacking the consumption volume to spur the growth of this industry. Malaysia's lack of execution plan is impaired further, due to Malaysia's limited defence budget as well as its lack of knowledgeable and confident salesmen. In comparison, Malaysia's neighbour, Singapore, is top in defence in ASEAN, and attributes its success to good salesmanship.²⁰⁶ Thus, it is proposed that Malaysia need not focus solely on government-to-government sales, but should also explore business-to-business sales, which could lead to a brighter future for its industry.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁹ India Group Interview 1.

²⁰⁰ Malaysia Group Interview 2.

²⁰¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

²⁰² Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

²⁰³ Malaysia Individual Interview 2.

²⁰⁴ India Group Interview 1.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ India Group Interview 1.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

The development of the defence industry in Malaysia is still at a very early stage compared to some of its neighbouring countries. Singapore, which began its expansion drive in the early 1980s, currently has the largest maintenance, repair and operations (MRO) facilities in the Asia–Pacific region. This should be seen as an opportunity for Malaysia to harness its MRO potential (Malaysian Defense Industry Blueprint 2005). The case is the same for SBSR, an incredibly competitive industry – and so Malaysia should offer more than just transportation services, embarking on the marketing of value-added products in the industry such as specialised cargo transportation and logistics and ship management.

It is necessary for countries like Malaysia to focus on value-added maritime services, because Malaysia does not have the ability to compete with a country that has greater potential to provide low-cost services, such as the cheap labour offered by India. Investing in low-cost maritime services will not enhance Malaysia's defence or shipping industry. It is important to understand their capability and skills and focus on the most lucrative services for better returns. Thus, Malaysia should concentrate on high-end services in order to deliver the best outcomes in engaging with India. The shared cost-benefit amongst these countries may thus provide more enhanced partnership in this industry.

A good starting point could be R&D collaboration. As stated earlier, it is beneficial for both Malaysia and India to collaborate on both R&D and shipbuilding and maintenance, as this could have a positive outcome on the cost effectiveness of the shipbuilding industry.²⁰⁸

Malaysia thus urgently needs to realign its maritime industry. A well-organised framework should be in place. An encouraging environment promoting R&D and innovation, entrepreneurship and risk-taking, as well as incentives for public–private partnership should be constructed (Maierbrugger 2013). The potential India possesses as a shipbuilding nation and the economic benefits of a robust shipbuilding industry, means that a conducive policy framework and institutional support systems would go a long way towards India's endeavour to emerge as a vibrant shipbuilding nation (Maierbrugger 2013). It would be better for India to build its partnership along these lines.

However, it all comes down to the financial capital of a state. Setting targets and

²⁰⁸ India Group Interview 3.

achieving them, especially for military equipment, requires a high budget. Examining the financial budget and setting a realistic allocation could set the tone for the future of the Malaysian defence industry and elicit stronger and more positive commitments from the Indian defence industry, settling the issue in an amicable manner.

7.6 Change in Maritime Strategic Thinking

Malaysia and India's commitment towards bilateral and multilateral cooperation, whether formal or informal, require a dramatic change in maritime strategic thinking, as do any steps towards overcoming bureaucratic and statutory bottlenecks, strengthening law enforcement, and sharing costs and benefits.

There is a vital need for a breakthrough in the maritime relationship between Malaysia and India. Malaysia should engage with India in a more proactive manner, as it is clear to both nations that the relationship between Malaysia and India needs more focus.²⁰⁹ The opinion prevalent in the top echelons of the Malaysian government is that the relationship between Malaysia and India is mature and thus only requires maintenance; and that as Malaysia has been actively sending officers and men for various courses, including for SUKHOI expertise, gunnery and submarine specialisation,²¹⁰ this is satisfactory. However, it has been stated that Malaysia's Secretary General has reminded bureaucrats to 'not forget India'.²¹¹ He has reemphasised that India is incredibly important to Malaysia, and remarked that it is unfortunate that Malaysia's positive relationship with India is not common knowledge.²¹² Thus, it is indeed time for a vital shift in strategic thinking in Malaysia, to ensure a more sound and pronounced maritime relationship with India. The reconstruction of Malaysia's strategy and new elements within this strategy, for example the Maritime Axis Doctrine, must be well thought out.²¹³

It is evident that India has already shown great interest in the SEA region through its LEP, while Malaysia's reaction to and engagement with India speaks volumes about Malaysia's acknowledgement of India's efforts. The way in which

²⁰⁹ India Group Interview 1 & Malaysia Group Interview 1.

²¹⁰ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ India Individual Interview 3.

Malaysia is reacting and engaging is where most answers lie.²¹⁴ The way Malaysia views the IOR and the Asia–Pacific region will affect its overall view of India’s role in the wider context of the Indo-Pacific region. Thus, Malaysia should show more commitment to recognising India as a major and crucial power, creating a new power structure in the EIOR. Therefore, to proactively manage such an ambitious player, Malaysia needs to proactively engage with India. Hypothetically, if the scenario of Malaysia’s power projection in the EIOR is contingent on Kuala Lumpur’s change of security focus, then a role for further, deepened Malaysia–India maritime security cooperation can certainly be foreseen. For such a situation to materialise, serious proactive engagement is required.

The maritime relationship between Malaysia and India is currently stalled, and needs an overhaul to suit the changing environment in the IOR.²¹⁵ Political will is a vital driver in any relationship, and there is no exception when it comes to MIMSC in the EIOR. There is significant potential for MIMSC, particularly in the SOM.²¹⁶ Therefore, there is a strong recommendation to reanalyse Malaysia’s foreign policy with India. Given that Malaysia and India have such a long-standing and mature relationship, there is a need to evolve and redefine it, particularly in the maritime domain of the EIOR.

With this in mind, Malaysia should first position itself and gain leverage for the specific purpose of sustainability before establishing an engagement with India. For example, Malaysian navies lack equipment, and this must first be addressed, as a focus on navy logistics is vital to create a shift in the relationship where India is viewed as a necessary partner.²¹⁷ If Malaysia were able to offer technical and logistics assistance, this could be a game-changer in its assertion of its need for cooperation in maritime security in the EIOR. More such manoeuvres can be foreseen only with changes in the overall mind-set.

India’s position in the SEA region is unique. India can balance equally between India and China. The balancing factor is dependent on Malaysia and what it can offer to attract India to engage in a better balance of power in the region.²¹⁸ Therefore, as Malaysia is located at the border of both the IOR and the Asia–Pacific region,

²¹⁴ India Group Interview 2.

²¹⁵ Malaysia Individual Interview 3.

²¹⁶ India Group Interview 1.

²¹⁷ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

²¹⁸ India Individual Interview 1.

India's engagement with Malaysia will depend on how India views Malaysia in the IOR and the Indo-Pacific region.

India might seem to be a country preoccupied with internal and regional politics and war with Pakistan, and thus demurring from outreach engagement. It is asserted that this potential attitude should not, however, be seen as a deterrent to other countries, particularly Malaysia. If India is engaged with Malaysia, India will definitely reciprocate and form stronger relations in maritime cooperation with Malaysia, especially in the areas of energy cooperation, shipbuilding and maintenance, and the safety of the SOM, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Bay of Bengal.

In addition, there must be strong convergence of mutual interest vital to any cooperation or relationship.²¹⁹ However, in the case of MIMSC, the need for cooperation does not seem to be solid or convincing enough for either party to initiate proceedings. There is a need for maritime security issues to fill the space in the Indian LEP for Malaysia, especially with the current issues and disputes regarding the SCS and the SOM. The SCS's waters are crucially important to Malaysia, and thus Malaysia would tend to be friendlier towards India than China. Malaysia lost Pedra Branca to Singapore, hence Malaysia will try its best to defend the Spratly Islands, and this will have an influence on its policy with China. India too needs to show an equal amount of commitment in order to gain Malaysia's trust. India should continue to maintain that any diplomatic cooperation is sought only for the safety and security of the SLOCs in the SOM and not to dominate or project power in these areas.²²⁰ As such, India's maritime effort being focused eastward will have greater imperative. Malaysia is certainly a natural close partner for India where the security of SLOCs is concerned.²²¹ In the case of international SLOCs security and safety, a joint effort is easier because of common concerns relating to freedom of navigation.²²² Focusing on mutual interest is indeed a great beginning to a better maritime relationship.

In terms of Malaysia choosing or not choosing China over India, Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak stated clearly in Singapore that Malaysia's foreign policy is more issue-oriented than capability-oriented. Therefore, Malaysia is neutral, as illustrated

²¹⁹ India Group Interview 1.

²²⁰ Malaysia Individual Interview 1.

²²¹ Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

²²² Malaysia Individual Interview 4.

by its commitment in ZOPFAN and NAM. As Malaysia's foreign policy is principle-based, it can be critical of both friend and foe, and is consistent on this matter to prevent any hegemony.²²³ Malaysia acknowledges India as a regional power. Therefore, in terms of balancing its relations with India and China, it is vital for Malaysia to remain 'moderate'. Democratic and moderate values are a similar driving factor in both Malaysia and India.²²⁴ Both countries should understand and acknowledge this condition for a better breakthrough in their maritime relationship.

7.7 Conclusion

It is evident that a successful MIMSC is highly dependent on major factors such as bilateral and multilateral commitments, informal networks of bilateral and multilateral maritime cooperation, shared cost-benefits, and the overcoming of bureaucratic and statutory bottlenecks. However, a fundamental change in maritime strategic thinking is the key to this relationship. It requires Malaysia to change its mind and be more forward thinking and ambitious.²²⁵ The current MIMSC is stalled and needs more proactive engagement by both partners. With regard to all the above arguments, it is evident that the emerging areas of maritime cooperation between Malaysia and India can only be achieved if both countries recognise these critical success factors in policing the EIOR.

²²³ Malaysia Group Interview 1.

²²⁴ India Individual Interview 2.

²²⁵ India Group Interview 1.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

THE SHAPING OF MALAYSIA–INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

As the focus of economic activity shifted during the 20th century from Europe to the Asia–Pacific region, Asian maritime thinking was accompanied by the debates conveyed by Julian Robert Corbett and Alfred Thayer Mahan, especially Mahan's interpretation that 'whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia'. His statement substantiated that 'the destiny of the world will be decided on its waters in the 21st century' (Mahan 1987). This is evident in the case of Malaysia and India in the EIOR. India's continuing interest in ensuring the stability of the IOR's waters reflects Mahan's thoughts about the inter-relationship for a rising power between its global interests and its maritime strategy. Malaysia, located at the vital choke point of the SOM, is in a similar situation. Located on the busiest of sea routes, it also sees its global interests shaping its maritime strategy in the IOR.

As the two countries work towards drawing up their own individual maritime policies in the IOR, a cooperative framework is shaping the maritime relationship between Malaysia and India in the EIOR. Although reasons such as economic imperatives and the defence against security threats in the EIOR, both traditional and non-traditional, are global factors shaping the framework, domestic considerations are more significant in influencing the relationship. Domestic weakness, especially in economic development, restricts both countries to adopting a comparatively independent role in shaping their maritime policies. Thus, seeking cooperation and interdependency will help them face and overcome the external challenges that they cannot resolve alone. An emerging global power like India is the vital partner Malaysia needs to secure in order to overcome its maritime challenges – and India in turn needs the friendship of littoral states like Malaysia in the EIOR.

Historically, both countries have evidently strong maritime bonds. The valuable historical understanding, which was required in earlier stage of the thesis, was comprehended substantially in Chapter 3. Crucial timeframes were discussed in

order to understand the bilateral relationship between Malaysia and India. This covered the pre-colonial period, during the early kingdoms of India (from the 10th century to the 15th). It also covered the unbreakable maritime bond between Malaysia-India during the arrival of European powers in the 15th century, which lasted until the 19th century. The occupation by the European powers did not weaken the maritime relationship between Malaya and India. Philip Curtin's concept of the merchants' diaspora to explain the functioning of cross-cultural trade over the centuries was true in the case of Malaya and India's continuous and strong maritime bond in the EIOR. The similar situation is presented during Cold War. Despite this temporary drift, both Malaysia and India showed their commitment to ensuring the safety and security of the EIOR through their strong and active involvement in the NAM, which had been initiated by India.

This demonstrated the high significance of the IOR and more importantly the appreciation that both countries had of each other as important maritime partners in the EIOR. The detailed discussion on the historical background of Malaysia and India and its social-cultural influences shows that this aspect is fundamental in shaping MIMSC in the EIOR. It is factual and will show continuity in future interaction of both countries.

The moot point was however the urgent need to deliberate on the 'credible commitments' of both Malaysia and India on maritime issues in the EIOR. Both countries have had a strong engagement over the past three decades, projected through their commitments in joint naval exercises, defence and military exchanges, joint defence projects and other related forms of cooperation in mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime threats. However, their relationship lacks robustness and no official agreements have been made. For nations that have commemorated 50 years of diplomatic relations, the maritime relationship between the two is rather a subdued one. In 1993, a major development was witnessed in the SEA region when India signed its first ever defence agreement with Malaysia, marking a major milestone compared to other SEA states in the region. Yet absurdly, developments still remain limited.

This implies that MIMSC in the EIOR is a *missed opportunity* and it is vital for both to examine the potential opportunities for Malaysia and India in the area of maritime cooperation/partnership and to identify the factors discouraging more comprehensive cooperation between the two countries.

To begin, the thesis proposed the vital need to examine the macro and micro level of maritime issues spanning across the IOR and its implications towards the bilateral relations between Malaysia and India. The primary data collection at both countries involving important key players in policy-making have identified the common grounds that drive MIMSC in the EIOR in the context of the post-Cold War era. It was argued that, geography plays a key role in their relationship. The two regions are both situated in an important position in the world, connecting major SLOC. India in the South Asia Region and Malaysia in the SEA Region both act as a bridge between the eastern and western worlds. Historical evidence has underlined this natural occurrence, and it remains an important driving factor of MIMSC in the EIOR in the post-Cold War era.

Another traditional pull factor, which is influenced due to historical reasons, are the commonality in terms of economic partnership. The sea provides the easiest, oldest and cheapest method of transportation for trade. More than half of Malaysia's GDP is generated through maritime foreign trade from China, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan. The Americans, Australians and New Zealanders also utilise the SOM as their preferred route. In addition to maritime trade, strong interest is visible for resources such as gas and oil. Malaysia has several areas with huge oil resources such as Layang-Layang Island, Miri and Bintulu, which contributes hugely in terms of oil revenue towards Malaysia's economic growth. For India, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, situated very near the SOM, have high-value minerals that could benefit the region's population and make changes to its energy policy. Meanwhile, any disruption along the SLOSs, even temporarily, can lead to substantial increases in energy costs. The global demand for oil is growing annually and it provides an avenue for great power.

The common urge for both Malaysia and India to reform their economy and narrow down their social inequality will thus contribute a significance amount of weightage in its bilateral relationship in the region. After more than a century of colonisation, independence meant that both countries had to struggle to update their economies, and most importantly, to reduce poverty levels. There is an urgent need for security cooperation between Malaysia and India in the EIOR, especially related to gaining access to resources in the IOR. Resource scarcity is an increasing concern, and securing the SLOCs is vital for peaceful and continuing economic activity. Economic considerations are a traditional common ground for both countries, and

will continue remain a core interest in this bilateral relationship.

Whilst the geographical and economic factor is detected to be a direct and natural force for many years now, the geopolitical scenario in the EIOR needs greater attention from both countries. Maritime issues in the region will evolve concurrently in time and considering both Malaysia and India as a key player in ensuring the safety and security of IOR, a few pull factors require concentrations.

One of the most dominant factors that drew both countries for a better cooperation in the region has been the China factor. China is extending its diplomatic, economic and military forays in the IOR to overcome and ameliorate its Malacca Dilemma, but is doing so with more than a naval, military or regional strategy. China's move represents the manifestation of its rising geopolitical influence through its efforts to increase access from the SCS through the SOM and across the entire IOR. China's expansionist behaviour shows that it no longer accepts IOR as just an Indian ocean.

Although China increasing access to the SOM and other parts of the IOR is recognised by both countries, India is more anxious in comparison to Malaysia in this case. Whilst Malaysia has strictly expressed that the safety and security of SOM is a major responsibility of her together with Indonesia and Singapore, Malaysia perceives China as an important partner in the region and this is not purely because of abundance of natural resources in the disputed area. Rather, China's contribution in terms of economy to Malaysia plays vital role. Areas with ample resources such as gas, fish and minerals are China's 'traditional playground', which has huge implications for Malaysia's economic wealth.

Hence, the government will continue to balance in dealing with issues related with China. As a small power vis-à-vis China, Malaysia will match its power by focus on protecting its sovereignty and economic interests as well as maintaining positive relations with other states. Besides, China's historical and socio-cultural links with Malaysia puts both countries in a positive relation. With the second largest population represented by the Chinese in Malaysia, whom also contributes hugely to the country's economy, Malaysia's policy towards China will reflect a more neutral stand.

The rivalry is perhaps lies more dominant in the case of India. Both countries are concurrently a rising power in the region. In the case of maritime projection in the IOR, China's commercial backdrop has caused enmity for India. China's string

of pearls' strategy is often debated, but is essentially seen as a form of power maximisation. The discussion with the interviewees suggested that China would remain a dominant factor for India during its engagement with any SEA region and not just Malaysia. However, India perceives Malaysia as a great power balance in the region because of its major role in SOM, which is an important choke point for China.

Hence, as much as both countries has the common interest in ensuring a maritime power balance in the EIOR and seek new opportunities for a comprehensive framework of MIMSC in the EIOR in the case of China, the different position Malaysia and India has with China could draw gap in relation as much as it drives as a key element. This difference in behaviour will remain core in both countries in shaping its bilateral relations in the region.

Whilst pull factors such as geography, economic partnership and China factor determines the bilateral relationship, another major element that strongly needs attention by both countries at an equal level is the realisation of maritime power and the desire for maritime power. Until the end of the 20th century, the IOR was an active playground for western maritime rivalries. Indian maritime blindness in the past was the cause of western maritime settlement in India. Similarly, Malaysia's open policies led to European powers flocking into the waters of SEA over centuries. The thesis discovered that both countries projected low desire to acquire maritime power and this indirectly affects the bilateral relationship. This sea blindness is however not similar as it was during the past. Both countries are independently shaping its maritime policies and are against any form of intrusion from external power. But in the current context, the sea blindness are more associated to the lack of proactive engagement in engaging with key players on key issues that are evolving in the area of maritime security.

India for instance has trouble engaging with Malaysia on maritime issues although there is many areas of cooperation require high level of attention from both countries. This gap was questioned several times during the field trip and it was comprehended that the level of cooperation did not reach the expected level because Malaysia lack in enthusiasm. The similar response was comprehended from the Malaysian who believes India should take early initiatives in engaging Malaysia. In this case, the historical background did not contribute greatly

This scenario shows that the element of sea blindness is still present, thus affecting the opportunities that could be used by both countries. Therefore, it is vital to for both countries to remain mindful of this particular behaviour of reluctance and hesitancy but in contrast should grab any potential positive engagement for a more comprehensive bilateral relationship.

The thesis was also keen in identifying the potential traditional and non-traditional security and the emerging areas of maritime collaboration. The thesis set out the arguments into two divisions: a) the traditional and b) the non-traditional threats in the EIOR. These were presented in Chapters 5 and 6, to elicit more in-depth answers. From a traditional perspective, securing the safety and security of SLOCs for economic prosperity, and from state practice over regional autonomy are the factors driving MIMSC in EIOR. Two major emerging areas are in strong focus. First is partnership in maritime resources and competence. This is evident in the case of joint bilateral naval exercises and programmes between the two states. India has yet to show bilateral commitment with Malaysia in comparison to other littoral states such as Singapore and Indonesia, which have SIMBEX and CORPAT respectively.

This scenario could be related again to the issue of lack of proactive engagement that was pointed out earlier. The outcome of interviews suggested that Malaysia's neighbouring country such as Singapore and Indonesia seek to engage positively with India on maritime issues. It is hence important for Malaysia to be more proactive partners in order to advance more bilateral commitment on maritime areas in IOR.

One of the most prominent areas that showed high level of interest in both countries is the interest in defense industry collaboration. Great potential lies in the areas of SBSR and MRO, especially where shared costs and benefits in the areas of shipbuilding, ship repair and maintenance are concerned. R&D is also another emerging area, and Malaysia's MDSTP is a good example of such an outlook. As a nation with blue water navy ambitions, R&D is a vital component to shape a resilient MIMSC in the EIOR. The detailed explanations in Chapter 5 are the outcome of interviews, which presented this particular interest. Thus, the area of defense industry should be a major focus for both countries.

From a non-traditional perspective, it was evident that the continuous problems of piracy, terrorism at sea, natural disasters and illicit activities such as drug trafficking, human smuggling, weapon smuggling and illegal immigrants constitute

the major underlying concerns. Whilst piracy is a major concern for both countries especially Malaysia, considerable effort has been adopted to overcome this issue and the level of piracy attacks has reduced by each year. Nevertheless, the issue of terrorism remains as a prominent factor for both countries in terms of non-traditional perspective.

The issue of terrorism, which took a dramatic shift in policies of many countries after the 9/11 incident has also impacted both countries subsequently. For India, it has directly affected its security, as it borders on both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Attacks such as the 2003 Mumbai bombing, Delhi bombing in 2005 and many more which took place throughout major cities is a huge concern for India. For Malaysia, the war on terror after 9/11 had made the situation more volatile, especially with the presence of terrorist groups such as ASG, Al Qaeda, KMM and JI, which have shifted much of its focus towards the SEA region.

With the development of science and technology, more non-state actors are expected to hack and threaten the stability of state. Hence, the issue of terrorism will be in great focus in both Malaysia and India's policy. A strong MIMSC network is required in order to protect both Malaysia and India's maritime interests in the EIOR. The cross-boundary nature of this threat requires a more disciplined and uniform management approach.

In terms of area of cooperation, both countries expressed that search and rescue operations, as well as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, are two major potential areas of cooperation to mitigate non-traditional threats. The disappearance of flight MH370 and the 2004 tsunami were classic examples of a lack of preparedness by Malaysia and India to handle emergencies. There is a vital need for them to improve in the areas of crisis and disaster management. While many other regional powers are contributing to this trajectory and at the same time receive help from other countries with open arms, both Malaysia and India have yet to adopt these initiatives. India has great potential in relation to this emerging area, and it could also be taken up wisely by Malaysia.

Another important aspect is enhancing the policing roles by Malaysia and India in the EIOR. Most non-traditional threats occur in territorial waters, leaving the law enforcement agencies in need of reinforcement. In response to the complexity of contemporary maritime threats and their sophisticated networks, the policing function of the naval forces needs to be transformed into something more substantial.

This could be achieved by engaging with an extra-regional power that has the resources and competence available, as well as the financial aid required. Japan, the USA and Australia are among the few regional powers contributing to the SEA countries, and this could be attempted by Malaysia and India in the EIOR. It requires a strong integrated maritime strategy from the bottom to the very top level.

The last section of the thesis (Chapter 7) aimed at examining the critical success factors. The purpose of this analysis was driven by the rational that recognising the major pull factors as well as identifying the potential traditional and non-traditional threats are not sufficient enough in shaping the bilateral relationship between two countries. It is vital to understand the aim of a particular state interaction and shape strategies based on the level of interaction and further improve the bilateral relationship. This will direct countries towards better decision-making process.

The potential opportunities identified are not achievable without understanding the critical success factors that directly contribute to the shaping of MIMSC in the EIOR. The first is the bilateral and multilateral commitments – but both Malaysia and India have yet to make any meaningful efforts in that regard. NATO has provided a good example of a multilateral defence programme, which could take shape in the EIOR. The ASEAN, ARF, ADMM-PLUS, IONS and IORA are all good stepping-stones towards a more complex maritime security institution. Nevertheless, an in-depth maritime axis policy must be well thought out.

A bilateral mechanism is equally important, as it means direct engagement between two countries that is more strategic in nature. For combating non-traditional threats, the ‘Eyes in the Sky’ programme is an example of a possible multilateral commitment. Others include the ReCAAP initiative led by Japan, and the USA-led PSI. However, these multilateral programmes tend to meet with failure due to the lack of trust that exists between the various littoral states. Therefore, as it is difficult for bilateral commitments to take shape in overcoming traditional threats, both Malaysia and India could focus on non-conventional threats, and draw up some informal bilateral commitments as a launch pad for a more formal and integrated bilateral relationship in the EIOR to generate stronger trust between each other.

Other factors entail overcoming the bureaucratic and statutory bottlenecks, and sharing costs and benefits. Both Malaysia and India need to reshuffle their law and order at sea by first setting their own house in order, and only then entering into more sophisticated legal arrangements with other countries. Financial constraints are

another major obstacle requiring serious planning for successful MIMSC in the EIOR.

One of the most important finding of the thesis, which requires great change in both governments for better policy implementation, is change in maritime strategic thinking in Malaysia and India. It should begin with a critical shift in strategic thinking to ensure a more sound and pronounced maritime relationship between Malaysia and India. Both countries have recognised the importance of a strategic partnership, and have adopted considerable effects. These elements have been projected since the post-Cold War period with the establishment of LEP I and LEP II. However, after almost two decades of a mature and long-standing relationship, it is only expected that both will advance in the relationship. For such a situation to occur, understanding the culture of both countries is required in a more serious manner.

In relating these thoughts in understanding the strategic culture of both countries, the thesis finds that different cultural thinking between the two are one of the major contributing factor towards the success and failure of the bilateral relationship. Culture has been a major characteristic in the study of social sciences. In the field of international study, this aspect has been embedded strongly especially in understanding state interaction that composes two different cultures. Similarly, in analysing national security policy, cultural aspect plays a prominent role because its different cultural background impacts a state's foreign policy behaviour or outcome inversely.

In relation these thoughts in understanding the maritime strategic thinking, the distinctive thinking could be due to different generation gaps between the governmental organisations. The many different generations as well as level of commitment towards the organisation impacts the outcome of MIMSC. This is a vital point for both countries to remain attentive of in the future.

It is suggested that both Malaysia and India should shift from the current stage of immobility and make changes. As an emerging power in the IOR, India needs to project a more resilient role in the region. Seeking a strong partnership with Malaysia would not be a difficult task if India could draw a clear line between its role in projecting leadership and responsibility on the one hand, and its desire to secure its maritime interests in the EIOR on the other. A distinction must be made between India's role as protector of the SLOCs and its role as defender of its strategic

stakes in the EIOR. India, after all, does not have any maritime disputes with Malaysia, while Malaysia is facing up to China in the SCS. Hence it is up to India to redefine its maritime relationship with Malaysia. This scenario, if fitted closely with a well-planned maritime strategy vis-à-vis Malaysia, would project the realistic goal of India's foreign policy shift from India's LEP to Modi's current act east policy.

As for Malaysia, a similar proactive attitude is also required. It should acknowledge and react positively towards India's proposal on the maritime front in order to create a better maritime relationship. However, a clear mind-set needs to be attained in Malaysia. The country should position itself carefully, gain leverage and maintain sustainability before establishing engagement with India. One of the major aspects will be the shaping of its own version of the Indian Ocean policy. As it is strategically located between east and west, it should draw up clear maritime policies to command the vast EIOR waters. Like India, which has command over both east and west in the IOR, Malaysia should draw up a discrete policy relating to India as well as China. Just as India is taking a turn towards 'Act East', so should Malaysia begin to 'Look West' and 'Act West' towards India.

The three major sub-questions asked in the early stage of the research were well examined with sufficient evidences to answer the problem statement. It has open up to new and in-depth understanding of the present and future direction of the bilateral relationship between Malaysia and India. MIMSC in the EIOR has indeed provided *promising opportunities*, but has lacked the real opportunities for further collaboration. The puzzling question in the literature review has been cross-examined well with great details in the subsequent chapters. This is the reason behind the literature review of the thesis suggested the bilateral relationship between two countries is a '*missed opportunity*'.

Studying the dynamics of MIMSC and its evolution since the end of the Cold War has suggested diverse and new areas of maritime cooperation that require immediate action in order to overcome the growing maritime threats in the EIOR. This answers the significance of the study where suggested that although both countries recognises the importance of cooperation, it is important to continue to assess the bilateral relationship with the concurrent changes happening in the region in order to shape more effective policies.

It also provided support that there is no single universal definition of maritime security and other concepts that are embedded within it. This is one of the drawbacks

that cause confusion amongst policy-making whom at time comes up with their own definition to fit their own interest and the geopolitical environment of its country. The findings in the thesis has provided ample of examples to contemplate the necessity to shape a clear definition at a global, regional and national level especially developing countries like Malaysia in order to draw a more well defined maritime security framework. These guidelines will then guide the shaping of inter-state maritime security cooperation like the MIMSC in EIOR.

The thesis also opened up more revenues for policy-makers to ponder on the pressing need for the further appreciation of maritime policies. The issue of ‘sea blindness’, which was discussed above, is one particular aspect that requires high attention at any cost of shaping policies on maritime matters. The evidences collected at various maritime departments and naval officers, academic think tanks and researchers confirmed this situation.

In sum, analysing the bilateral relationship between Malaysia and India in the relations to all the questions proposed in the thesis, it is concluded that both countries failed to draw up effective policies despites the potential to do so and this is due to the lack of ‘credible commitment’. This element is essential in shaping of a positive paradigm shift in MIMSC in the EIOR.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Reference Number: REP-H/12/13-42



YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

EMERGING SECURITY PARADIGM IN THE EASTERN INDIAN OCEAN REGION: A BLUE OCEAN OF MALAYSIA-INDIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION

We would like to invite you to participate in this postgraduate (PhD) research project. You should only participate if you want to. Choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. If you agree to take part you will be asked whether you are happy to be contacted about participation in future studies. Your participation in this study will not be affected should you choose not to be re-contacted. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect the standard of care you receive. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Aim of the Research

This research is aimed to ultimately produce an academic thesis for the purpose of my PhD qualification. My research question asks:

Research Problem Statement

The central question of the thesis seeks to examine the '*potential opportunity*' for both Malaysia and India in the area of maritime cooperation/partnership, and the factors deterring this maritime cooperation in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region.

Research Questions

1. What are the drivers of MIMSC in the EIOR?
2. What are the emerging areas of maritime collaboration to be considered by MIMSC in the EIOR?

3. What are the critical success factors/enablers of MIMSC for mitigating maritime security threats in the EIOR?

Possible Benefits to the Study

It is hoped that the outcome of the research will create awareness amongst Malaysian policy makers in shaping future defence/maritime policies. The participants being part of Malaysia's policymaking process could utilise the knowledge gained during a stimulating dialogue session for future policy processes. On the other hand, the group interviews may help you build your own set of networks or friendships for your own work or research purposes. During the thesis write up, I will cite your work where relevant and this will increase your profile as a contributor to Malaysia's policy making.

Funders

The Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE), Malaysia, sponsors the entire PhD programme. My employer is the National Defence University Malaysia.

Participants

The choice of my participants includes policy makers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence, and various policy implementers such as Malaysia Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA) and Southeast Asia Regional Centre For Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT) Indian High Commissioner to Malaysia, Malaysian Commissioner to India, Indian Defense Advisor to Malaysia and Malaysian Defense Advisor to India, Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and The United Service Institution of India (USI).

Venue, Time and Duration

A tentative time, duration of the interviews as well as the venue will be provided. However, an accurate place, time and duration will be determined by you and your leverage to offer sufficient and effective responses in the timeframe of the fieldwork. The interviews will be conducted at your workplace such as your office room or a meeting room. Your involvement is expected to last until the end of the data collection period, i.e. March 2015. This is because there may be times where you will be interviewed more than once.

Risk

You may at times during the interview face difficulty in providing certain information pertaining to the research since it involves the study of foreign policy making. For example, if you are a navy officer, you may not be in a position to disclose certain naval activities of your country due to national security issues. In this case, it is stressed that you will only face minimal levels of risk in terms of providing information. You can choose whether to share this information or not. I will cite and acknowledge any work, which is entirely yours.

All interviews and data collection will be conducted at your work place such as an institute, centre or foundation, and mostly interviews will take place in a private room, meeting room or office. Hence, you will not face risks in terms of travelling to a particular place. In addition, information will be restricted between you and me. If an interview is conducted in a group, a prior letter will be distributed to each of you involved about the general background of other participants to ensure you are comfortable with each other. If any one of you does not agree, a new arrangement or reshuffling of interview groups will be done. It is stressed here that you need not worry about disclosing information or being uncomfortable in the presence of another participant, as each participant will have detailed information prior to the interview and each activity will be explained clearly from the beginning of the interview until the end of the interview.

However, recording of the interview may take place to ensure the accuracy of the information obtained from the various participants. It is purely your decision whether to allow a recording to be made. I have no authority in this matter and prior to the interview, I will propose the interest to conduct a recording and it is subject to your permission. On the day of the interview, you will be reminded about this to ensure you are well aware of this attempt. However, it is stressed here that if you have agreed for this attempt, all recordings of interviews will be deleted upon transcription. I will also make manual field notes such as analytical memo field notes while conducting the interview. All the information written will be encrypted after the study is completed.

In the time period of this research, you and I will not discuss the information obtained with a stranger or even a person who is in a similar field if they are not involved as a participant in the research. This is for the purpose of confidentiality for yourself as well as the privacy of my data collection for the purpose of the thesis.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Although this research is purely for academic purposes, you can choose to be anonymous if you feel your information will be sensitive to other readers or a particular individual. It is stressed here that all your information provided to me will be entirely academic. Nevertheless you can seek other forms of confidentiality which are necessary or required of your position. Fictitious names can be used if you want to protect your privacy. If in either case you choose to be fully anonymous, it will not be possible to identify you in any publications.

Anticipated Plans For Dissemination/Publication

Any information that is obtained during the data collection period will be used for academic writing to obtain a PhD qualification from King's College London. The information will also be used for the purposes of articles, journal publication or seminar/conference presentations during the PhD programme where relevant. Your contribution to the knowledge obtained will be acknowledged and you will own copyright of your information. You have complete freedom to disapprove of the use of your information during the research for the purpose of further publication.

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason. You may also withdraw any data/information you have already provided up until it is transcribed for use in the final write up by 5 March 2016.

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact the researcher using the following contact details:

Name and Full Contact Details of the Researcher

Name:	Tharishini Krishnan (Student Id: 1167643)
Home Address in Malaysia:	No 9, Hala Tambun Permai 1, Kpg Tersusun Batu 4 Tambun, 31400 Ipoh, Perak Darul Ridzuan, Malaysia.
Home Address in United Kingdom:	Flat 6, Bank House, 209 Merton Road, SW19 1EE, South Wimbledon, London, United Kingdom.
Email Address:	tharishini.krishnan@kcl.ac.uk (preferable email address) tharrychris@gmail.com (in case of emergency)
Mobile Number (UK):	+0044 02 07 553115236
Mobile Number (Malaysia):	+60124536894

If this study has harmed you in any way, you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Name and Full Contact Details of the Supervisor

Name:	Prof. Dr. Harsh V. Pant
Email Address:	harsh.pant@kcl.ac.uk
Mobile Number:	Will be given upon request

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.



Title of Study: _____

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: _____

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to the point of publication (5th of March 2016). ☐
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998.²²⁶ ☐
- I agree to be contacted in the future by King's College London researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature.

Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I consent to my interview being audio/video recorded.

Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I understand that if I choose full confidentiality and anonymity, it will not be possible to identify me in any publications.

Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I understand that if I choose partial confidentiality and anonymity,

Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

²²⁶ The Data Protection Act, 1998 classifies sensitive personal data as consisting of information as to '(a) the racial or ethnic origin of the data subject, (b) his[†] political opinions, (c) his religious beliefs or other beliefs of a similar nature, (d) whether he is a member of a trade union (within the meaning of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992), (e) his physical or mental health or condition, (f) his sexual life, (g) the commission or alleged commission by him of any offence, or (h) any proceedings for any offence committed or alleged to have been committed by him, the disposal of such proceedings or the sentence of any court in such proceedings' (<http://www.legislation.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts1998/19980029.htm>). [†] 'His' should also be taken to include 'her'.

it will be possible to identify me in certain publications. However, this is dependent upon the significance of the work and the type of write up/publication involved.

- I agree to be contacted in the future by King's College London researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature.

Yes	No

- I agree that the researcher may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee.

Yes	No

Participant's Statement:

I-

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed

Date

Investigator's Statement:

I _____

confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed

Date

APPENDIX C

**Agreement to Participate in Research**

Topic of Research: Emerging Security Paradigm in the Eastern Indian Ocean Region (EIOR): A Blue Ocean of Malaysia-India Maritime Security Cooperation.

Primary Researcher: Tharishini Krishnan (PhD Student)

First Supervisor: Prof. Harsh V. Pant

Second Supervisor: Prof. Sunil Khilnani

I _____ (name of the participant) understand that this research is for the purpose of a PhD thesis. I have fully understood the aims, objectives, and nature of the study which have been explained clearly to me by the primary researcher. I understand that I have full freedom to withdraw from this project at any time up to the time of thesis compilation (5th of March 2016).

I understand that the information obtained by the researcher through me will be kept confidential and is by no means to be used or published without my full consent.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature: _ _____

Date: _____

Further information, please contact:

Tharishini Krishnan

Email: tharishini.krishnan@kcl.ac.uk

Tel: +0044 02 07553115236

APPENDIX D

No	Item	Guide questions/description
Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity		
Personal Characteristics		
1.	Interviewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?
2.	Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials? <i>E.g. PhD, MD</i>
3.	Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?
4.	Gender	Was the researcher male or female?
5.	Experience and training	What experience or training did the researcher have?
Relationship with participants		
6.	Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?
7.	Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? <i>e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research</i>
8.	Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? <i>e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic</i>
Domain 2: study design		
Theoretical framework		
9.	Methodological orientation and Theory	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? <i>e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis</i>
Participant selection		
10.	Sampling	How were participants selected? <i>e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball</i>
11.	Method of approach	How were participants approached? <i>e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email</i>
12.	Sample size	How many participants were in the study?
13.	Non-participation	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?
Setting		
14.	Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? <i>e.g. home, clinic, workplace</i>
15.	Presence of non-participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?
16.	Description of sample	What are the important characteristics of the sample? <i>e.g. demographic data, date</i>
Data collection		
17.	Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?
18.	Repeat interviews	Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?
19.	Audio/visual recording	Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?
20.	Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the interview or focus group?
21.	Duration	What was the duration of the interviews or focus group?
22.	Data saturation	Was data saturation discussed?
23.	Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?
Domain 3: analysis and findings		
Data analysis		
24.	Number of data coders	How many data coders coded the data?
25.	Description of the coding tree	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?
26.	Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?
27.	Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?
28.	Participant checking	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?
Reporting		
29.	Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes / findings? Was each quotation identified? <i>e.g. participant number</i>
30.	Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?
31.	Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?
32.	Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?

Resources: 32-items checklist of Consolidated Criteria for reporting qualitative research (interviews and focus group data)

APPENDIX E

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS (MALAYSIA)

Malaysia Interview 1(MI-1)

Date of Interview: 24th November 2014
Time: 10.00 hours
Duration: 1 hour 50 minutes
Location: Maritime Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (MOFA)
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed in Microsoft Words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

It is a normal sunny day and I have driven my car to reach 15 minutes before the appointment to his office in Putrajaya. The meeting has been scheduled on my request via email to his Personal Assistant (PA). Upon arrival, the PA has received me to take me to the meeting room upstairs. The interview started a little late by 10 minutes. The meeting room is quiet, cool and comfortable. The PA has told me that Mr. A has already scheduled his office work to spare 1.5 hours. The informant is looking fresh and has greeted me warmly. I am surprised to see that he has the hard copy of the interview question sheet that I emailed to his PA two weeks before the meeting. He seems well prepared. No tea or coffee served yet, but I have my water bottle with me to keep my throat wet enough to ask many questions.

He has a degree in law from a European country and he has impressed me with his knowledge about maritime studies because of his long experience and his current important position as a secretary. No abnormal interruption happened during the interview except a few brief interruptions by the PA informing him about his next schedule. I took 20 additional minutes from the allotted time. His reflections on traditional maritime security threats were brief yet he spoke in detail about non-traditional maritime security issues. The interview ended with a huge smile on his face suggesting a friendly gesture.

Informant Details:**Name of Informant/ Interviewee:****Confidential****Designation:****Director of Department of Maritime
(MOFA)****Age:****Middle-aged****Field of Expertise:****Maritime Policy Making****Professional Experience:****Civil Service Officer****Years of Experience:****12 years****Anonymity Required:****Yes****Disclosure of Information**

The informant had been provided with the King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome**A. Malaysia's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).**

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The officer began by saying that the South China Sea is in the interest of Malaysia as it has overlapping issues compared to the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The IOR is an area that is free and peaceful from conflict. It is driven strongly from the fact that both Malaysia and India are far apart geographically. This could be the reason behind Malaysia's consistent focus on China factors rather than India, as India reflects benign maritime behavior. He stressed that this does not mean that India will only be noticed if it projects coercive behavior. Both Malaysia and India have had a good relationship for many years now and geographical distance causes both Malaysia and India to be lacking in maritime engagement.

In discussing the external drivers, SLOCs is a fundamental area of concern especially the Straits of Malacca. India and China are believed to be contesting in the larger context of IOR and this situation can jeopardize the safety of SOM. For Malaysia, securing the safety and security of SOM is vital at all times. Malaysia's involvements in the IOR are based on the principles of respect against territory and sovereignty and strongly driven by the policy of issue-based action. Safety of SLOCs especially SOM is vital for Malaysia as it's the busiest trade route in the world. Economic development of the country is dependent on these routes as at the EEZ areas where ship movements are free without any restrictions.

The informant then speaks about China. He argues that China's ambitions or rather any of its activities in the region raise eyebrows for many neighbors.

Malaysia does not see China as a threat but like any other power involved in the region, China causes anxiety. India is a natural friend for us and taking into consideration India and China's contest in the IOR, a stronger relationship with India could be shaped especially concerning maritime interests, as India has a sense of universality compared to any other armed forces. On the other hand, neither Malaysia nor India have any disputes, compared to China which Malaysia is contesting with for the claims for Spratly Islands. He argued that Malaysia lost Pedra Branca to Singapore which hit the nation hard. Malaysia will try her level best to defend Spratly Islands and this can influence her policy with China.

2. What are the internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

He began by arguing that Malaysia-India have a good historical maritime relationship connected through these (EIOR) traditional trade routes. He argued that as early as the 16th century, one can see Indian traders sailing to Malaysia for business purposes. He focused on trade by arguing that Malaysia is the third largest trading partner for India within ASEAN and on the other hand, India is the largest trading partner for Malaysia and many other countries in the region. This suggested to the researcher that Malaysia-India bilateral areas are confined largely to trade and not defence areas. He quoted a few more economic relationships. E.g. The Malaysia-India Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) covering goods and services as well as investment. Others are the Revised Double Taxation in 2012 and MOU on Field of Customs in 2013. These further suggested that defense areas were not a major focus, although he did not dismiss the importance of defense from his mind.

He further argued that the demographics of Malaysia represent multiple ethnicities, of which Indians, though smallest in number, represent at least 7 percent, covering languages such as Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Punjabi and many more. The process of assimilation has led to inter-marriages between religions and there are huge numbers of Tamil Muslims in Malaysia. These are unique elements in understanding the strong relationships between Malaysia and India.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall power and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

In discussing what sort of power Malaysia is, the officer argued that Malaysia is a maritime power in the SEA region and big powers cannot ignore the importance of Malaysia at the SOM. Malaysia fiercely defends the interests of their territories. In questioning India, the informant believed that India has a desire to be a great power and he quoted his own experiences during a conference last October 2014 at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu. He argued that the the Indian navy officers expressed their desire to be a maritime power in the region.

A. Malaysia's commitment to Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

On the issue of bilateral relations, the officer believed that India's engagement with Malaysia is through ASEAN, which he believes to be more effective. As a small nation, multilateral fora will be the key. ASEAN is a major instrument in engaging with the region on any issue as it projects collective behavior. India's proactive engagement in ASEAN will be welcomed as India is not just a vital regional power but a great power balancer vis-à-vis other major powers in the region. However, he stressed that bilateral relations should also be based upon confidence building, dialogues and transparency.

In November 2015 during a meeting, Prime Minister Dato Najib Mohamad and Prime Minister Modi expressed that the Malaysian embassy in Delhi was the first of all embassies to be established in Delhi. He believed that although such recognition existed, there has been no bilateral mechanism except through ASEAN – ARF – ADMM Plus.

He suggested that India ought to look towards China as an example in formulating its foreign policy with Malaysia. I felt that the way the officer explained his position and made comparisons between the countries shows that China has been active in its power projection vis-à-vis India. E.g. China's engagement in ARF where China was actively engaged in dialogue on the oil spill and search and rescue operation. He stressed that China is very much engaged and loyal.

However, the officer concluded by arguing that India is less active due to geographical constraint and the power projection includes immediate vanity, though this should not be a reason for not seeking proactive engagement.

B. Malaysia's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may bring Malaysia and India to work together?

The officer again spoke on Straits of Malacca. He argued that Malaysia is sensitive towards extra-regional power involvement especially military activities at the Straits of Malacca. Any diplomatic cooperation is sought only for the safety and security of SLOCs in SOM and not to dominate or project power in these areas. India can offer Malaysia assistance in helping secure

these areas, as India is a natural partner in the IOR. Areas can be on training and logistics assistance and also training of personnel as well as information sharing.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may concern Malaysia and India to work together?

Less focus can be said between India and Malaysia, besides the piracy issue at Somalia. Energy cooperation is reduced because of geographical limitations. There is no specific area of cooperation for search and rescue operation. New areas of cooperation could be non-controversial, such as search and rescues, or marine scientific research.

Malaysia Interview 2 (MI-2)

Date of Interview: 10th October 2014
Time: 14.00 hours
Duration: 1 hour 20 minutes
Location: Ministry of Defence, Jalan Padang Tembak,
 50634 Kuala Lumpur.
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcript to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

It was a pleasant rainy day and I had driven my car to reach 15 minutes before the appointment to his office at Jalan Padang Tembak. This meeting was actually a continuation of a focus group discussion I had previously held. The informant and I decided to meet again where we met previously, and have a more detailed discussion. The meeting was been scheduled on my request, for which he gave his permission. On the day of the meeting I went straight to his office upstairs. The interview started on time. The meeting room was quiet, cool and comfortable.

The informant was looking fresh and greeted me warmly. He was well prepared because he had already been part of the group discussion, hence we immediately started the discussion. His response to my every question was excellent. He was in charge of non-traditional activities but he had a sound knowledge on the defense industry. This is perhaps the reason why his colleague referred me to him. He gave me some very useful articles, books, reports and some other related data, including one article written by him as well.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview except few brief interruptions by some official related to routine office work. It was a short but very comprehensive meeting. I didn't take any additional time because we covered almost every aspect of the questionnaire. His reflections on non-traditional maritime security threats were very detailed, yet he spoke and covered the defense industry part as well. The interview ended with huge smile on his face suggesting a friendly gesture.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Ministry of Defense
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Defense industry
Professional Experience:	Civil Service Officer
Years of Experience:	18 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome

A. Malaysia's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

China's maritime behavior in the SCS could be one reason for understanding Malaysia-India's maritime security cooperation. Its claims at the Spratly Islands project China's maritime ambitions in the IOR. Moreover geographically, India and Malaysia are widely exposed to threats from the sea both on the eastern side and at the western channel of the Indian Ocean. So geographical proximity plays a vital part.

2. What are the internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

India is a large market in the East Indian region so the diverse diplomatic maritime commitment is one of the potential internal drivers, which is influencing Malaysia-India security cooperation. Plus there are bureaucratic influences.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall power and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

On questioning Malaysia's interest in engaging with China in relation to the defense industry, the officer believed that Malaysia's engagement with China is still immature/new. The relationships may show more positive engagement on areas such as missiles or training aircraft such as Yak 130 and M346. The technical and logistics assistance and support in the defense industry among both nations can influence the area of interoperability and joint maritime training programs. The coastguard ships from China, in contrast to India's naval ships, were seen as a major interest among Malaysian navies.

B. Malaysia's commitment to Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The researcher questioned Malaysia's priority list in the region and found out that after ASEAN and ADMM-Plus, it is secondly India, China and Turkey, and thirdly Pakistan and America that are ranked in order of priority. The researcher further interrogated the lack of engagement between Malaysia and India which is due to a lapse in or absence of bilateral mechanisms for maritime cooperation. The officer stressed that Malaysia's engagement is based on a barter system. The researcher then asks 'What could Malaysia offer to engage actively with India?' The officer quoted the Five Power Defense Agreement (FPDA) where Australia and Singapore have navy exchange with Malaysia and vice versa. They believe it could increase interoperability between navies and this could be one area that Malaysia and India could focus on.

C. Malaysia's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

The researcher questioned again the area of possible maritime security cooperation between Malaysia-India at the EIOR. This question was based on the previous findings where Malaysia was described as showing interest in engaging with India on the cooperation of defense industry areas. For example, with respect to India's Shivakli Class Frigate, which is a hybrid of western and Russian technology. Malaysia is interested in engaging with India on such areas to produce frigates and destroyers with strong capabilities.

Other areas of possible cooperation could be on aviation such as SUKHOI SU 30 MKM, joint exercises, maintenance, and the ship building industry, if India is also willing to offer its expertise.

The officers feel that it is India's role that will determine stronger relations on maritime cooperation with Malaysia, such as in the area of disaster management, energy cooperation, shipbuilding and maintenance etc. It was believed that India's military strengthening is more for her domestic requirements. Also, India champions world peace, thus it limits Malaysia's engagement with India. The Pakistan factor also deters India from projecting a coercive outlook in the region. The officers believe that buying or obtaining new technology from a new country/partner will involve high costs in terms of learning the new technology and training

navies. It is always better to use familiar technology. This was one of the reasons for such drawback in the relationship.

The officers further explained that Malaysia often shares information on jungle and guerilla warfare with the United States due to their long standing experience fighting against communists. Similar exchanges of ideas and experience can enhance better relationships between the navies of Malaysia and India. Others could be an exchange of investment, palm oil, NATURAL gas for supersonic and SUKHOI.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

He stressed on SAR as it is a genuine area of cooperation without any political intentions. Others are disaster management, which could be a potential area of collaboration. Terrorism at sea, human and drug trafficking, and the issue of illegal immigrants are also some major security threats when we talk about the non-traditional maritime security threats.



Malaysia Interview 3 (MI-3)

Date of Interview: 18th November 2014
Time: 11.00 hours
Duration: 2 hours and 15 minutes
Location: Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency,
 Prime Minister's Malaysia Department,
 Level 4-11, One IOI Square, IOI Resort,
 62502 Putrajaya.
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

It was a pleasant day and I drove my car and reached exactly at the given time at his office in Putrajaya. Previously I was supposed to meet the Director General but he was not available, so he appointed his Assistant Director General to deliver responses on his behalf. It was a really nice experience to meet the ADG because he was quite professional, focused and an expert in his field. The meeting had been scheduled and I found him on time wearing naval uniform, a very impressive, smart middle-aged person who seemed to be well prepared. He had read my questionnaire and was already prepared to give responses to all my questions and also give his expert opinion on the issues, as he was an expert in the non-traditional and traditional maritime issues in the EIOR. He also had good knowledge on maritime disaster management and search and rescue activities.

I met him at his office, and the interview started on time. The office was quiet, cool and comfortable. He later told me that he had postponed some of his meetings to give me time, and I was really obliged to have such a welcoming response from a senior naval official. He gave me more than 2 hours, which were indeed worth a great deal to me. The informant was looking fresh and greeted me warmly. I felt his positive response by seeing that he had the printouts of the interview question sheets that I emailed to the PA of the department.

During the interview I preferred to avoid tentative questions and rather ask more probing questions to gain more detailed responses. During the interview we had a break of 10 minutes in which tea was served, another pleasant addition

because both of us got some time to relax and discuss related but more informal issues which enriched my interview a lot.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview, it was straight to the point and informative. I took 15 additional minutes from the allotted time. His reflections on both traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats were in depth and detailed. The interview ended with a pleasant smile giving a friendly and welcoming gesture.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Assistant Director General (MMEA)
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Non-Traditional Issues
Professional Experience:	Naval Officer
Years of Experience:	Middle Age
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome

A. Malaysia's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The intrusion of state sovereignty at the SOM by government vessels (custom officers) who stop vessels or fisheries boats and seek ransom from the government is a major concern. SOM is vital and sensitive for Malaysia and ship or vessel intrusion is intolerable. It is the responsibility of Malaysia-Singapore and Indonesia to make major maritime decisions in the SOM and other ship or vessel movements carrying a military mission should seek Malaysia's permission. I also see regional maritime disputes such as claims over Spratly Islands, James Shoal Islands etc. The war on terror after 9/11 has made the situation more volatile for Malaysia and we want to keep the EIOR away from terrorist activities and movement. To me, India's iron curtain policy sounds similar to Malaysian maritime ambitions to counter any possible Chinese ambitions. India is a more natural partner for Malaysia for maritime cooperation in the IOR to balance China's power. The maritime relationship between Malaysia and India is currently stalled, I must say, and needs an overhaul to suit the changing environment in the IOR. I recently heard of PM Modi's Act East Policy and I see it as more promising for Malaysia-India

maritime cooperation. India is a large market and Malaysia can improve its export performance through strengthening maritime connections.

2. What are the internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The collaboration between India and Malaysia is very little due to the hurdles of bureaucracy and also costs. MMEA is one body out of 34 departments under the Prime Minister's Department, and therefore cost is a huge problem leading to less capability building efforts. We have a large Indian origin population and there is a lot of historical commonality between the two countries through IOR. India has large need of naval equipment and Malaysian naval industries can benefit.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

SCS is crucial water for Malaysia, and Malaysia would have the tendency to lean more towards engaging with China vis-à-vis India. India is genuinely a benign power and free from conflict or dispute with Malaysia, hence this could utilize or simplify balancing efforts against China, which could be achieved through confidence building, non-traditional issues.

B. Malaysia's commitment on Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

The officer first explained that the MMEA is under the Prime Minister's Office while the Indian Coast Guard is under the Secretary of Defense. The difference in bureaucratic arrangement is one of the major downfalls for both nations to collaborate. The function of MMEA is all-rounded. They are involved in investigation and prosecution acts while the Indian coastguard will hand in investigations to the police.

Regionally, Malaysia has adopted the regional plan for action, with Australia, New Zealand and Indonesia under the Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU). Similarly, India has also adopted plans with its regional partners like Maldives and Mauritius in South Asia. However, there is no collaboration between India and Malaysia on these issues as they are not included in the same regional pact. The only collaboration that exists between the two countries is through the World Food Program by the United Nations.

Both countries have maritime collaboration through regional collaboration only. There is no bilateral and multilateral collaboration on IUU for Indonesia whilst no MOU on human trafficking for Thai, Cambodia, and Australia. IMB-KL, RECaaP – Singapore. Malaysia needs to have a bilateral mechanism to collaborate with India on maritime issues.

In light of understanding the separation of MMEA with the RMN, the decision to divorce from the RMN in 2005 was to encourage efficiency to curtail maritime challenges as a major key player in the region. The RMN is purely an aspect of defense while the MMEA is an act of enforcement. Although there is no MOU between the two, there is strong understanding for cooperation on areas like SAR and surveillance, and ship escorts in the IOR. It was stressed that in the event of war or crisis, both the RMN and MMEA have a strong understanding to protect Malaysia's territories. However, in normal circumstances, both bodies have separate roles because the MMEA is not equipped with missiles or any war technology, but only small guns and weapons. Even in training personnel, MMEA has its own training academy and system.

In questioning the CSI (Container Security Initiative) effort, the officer stressed the CSI and Container Control Program (CCP). It was argued that They are focused on areas like Port Klang and Tanjung Pelepas. However, it is hard to execute because the MMEA officer works on targeting based on risk management only, while the percentage of solved cases is less than 1%. Most ships were believed to escape or gone undetected.

C. Malaysia's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

The second is the intrusion of state sovereignty at the SOM by government vessels (for example the custom officers) that stop other vessels or fisheries boats and seek ransom from the government. Malaysia is competitive in naval equipment manufacturing and may seek cooperation with India to boost its local industry.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

It was argued that the major maritime concern from the MMEA perspective is firstly piracy, which takes place at high sea, and secondly sea robbery, which takes places 12 nautical miles from land. Third is the smuggling of weapons and drugs. However these threats come from countries like Thailand and the Philippines. Fourth are fisheries. The Malaysian ships have been visiting the IOR for tuna but it has not been lucrative.

Fifth are controlled elements like sugar, oil, cigarettes and marine pollution. After the ROHINYA issue, collaboration with India on human smuggling has reduced. This means that the MMEA's collaboration with the Indian coastguard is based on such issues. The sixth is terrorism by sea. Particularly on the issue of WMD, PSI and STA were signed with the US, Japan and Australia to counter terrorism activities. For example, Chinese weapons were brought through the IOR to Iran. Of course, the MMEA is also involved in port security and vessel movements in places like Port Klang and Tanjung Pelepas but in the larger context, this is the work of the RMN.

However, opportunities are seen in the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, which are adjunct with SOM and consists of India's territory – SAR areas and procedures of boarding. Currently there is no relationship between SEA and South Asia. There are opportunities to curtail drugs – between the Golden Crescent and Golden Triangle – with India as a mediator.

Areas:

1. SLOCs – only on SOM; EEZ – none.
2. Arms Trafficking – Andaman and Nicobar
3. China – WMD through IOR – Nicobar and Andaman to reach Iran
4. Piracy – MMEA at Somalia (Gulf Aden)



Malaysia Email Interview 4 (MI-4)

Date of Interview: 11th March 2015
Time: Email received 15.00 hours
Duration: 5 days
Location: RSIS, Singapore.
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Emails answers (not transcribed)

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

Commander Abhijit Singh (Research Fellow & Serving Naval Officer in Institute of Defense Studies and Analyses) introduced me to the informant. The informant is an expert in naval affairs, especially modernization efforts and technologies in the Indo-Pacific region focusing on Southeast Asia in particular, including the naval arms issue. He also taught defense and strategic studies at various Singapore Armed Forces professional military education and training courses in RSIS (S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies).

The informant gave a very positive and detailed answer to my questions and he covered each and every aspect of the questions fully.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee: Collin Koh
Designation: Associate Research Fellow, Maritime Security Programme, RSIS

Age: 33 years old
Field of Expertise: Naval Affairs
Professional Experience: Research
Years of Experience: 5 years
Anonymity Required: No

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome

A. Malaysia's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The informant responded as follows: I don't see bilateral maritime security cooperation in the EIOR as being driven just by energy, among the earlier 4 proposed drivers. Generally, energy security is subsumed under sea lines of communication (SLOCs) security through the Malacca Strait in particular. Pirates and sea robbers don't typically target energy tankers but vessels with lower freeboard that enables greater ease to board for hijack. Hence, I'll say piracy and sea robbery in the Malacca Strait is one particularly important driver to consider.

The other has to do with general safety issues that are also related to maritime security, for example aviation security and also, natural disasters. The MH370 incident shows the shortfalls in Malaysia's surveillance and search-and-locate capabilities, particularly maritime patrol aircraft (which is largely focused on the South China Sea, and this stretches the tiny MPA fleet of the RMAF over such a wide expanse of the Malaysian Maritime Zone). In January 2005, India also greatly assisted the IOR countries, including Indonesia, in the post-tsunami HADR. Therefore, India has demonstrated its capacity as a security provider in this regard, and it will be another plus point for bilateral cooperation.

I'll rank these four in the following order:

1. Changing international geopolitical scenario in Asia
2. Energy
3. Rising Chinese maritime power and presence
4. War on terror

2. What are the potential internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

I'll rank the internal drivers as such:

1. Geographical proximity
2. Cultural diaspora
3. Democratic values

Possibly the change of administration in the Indian Government which switches focus from "Act East" to one that is more westward looking or with an exclusive focus on the western IOR.

If anything, the changing regional geopolitical context including China's rise, the myriad of security challenges as well as geographical proximity form a crucial part of the explicit understanding. There is economic and political interdependence between India and Malaysia when seen in the overall context of all these issues brought together.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

a. Changing international geopolitical scenario in Asia

Foreseeable changes in the international geopolitical scenario in Asia would encompass the following: questions about U.S. commitment to its espoused Asia-Pacific “pivot” or “rebalancing”, as well as growing forays by other interested extra-regional powers in the region such as Japan. These may provide potential opportunities for India to seek a bigger role – diplomatic, economic and security – which means avenues for India to utilize its maritime power. For now, as I mentioned earlier, naval power remains the dominant sector where holistic maritime power is concerned, and India is certainly leveraging on it. The recent Indian Navy deployments and resource allocations appear to give greater emphasis on the Eastern Naval Command, and this testifies to the readiness of New Delhi to implement a greater maritime role in the EIOR. Malaysia and China are all potential partners in this regard, but the closest of all would still be Malaysia thanks to natural geographical proximity.

b. Rising Chinese maritime power and presence

The evidently growing Chinese focus on the EIOR, or the broader IOR in general, has strongly to do with its security concerns, first and foremost its continued access to energy sourced from the Middle East and African continent. The Malacca Strait, according to mainstream Chinese writings, constitutes the “soft underbelly” of Beijing, thereby raising what was touted the “Malacca Dilemma” for the Chinese Government. That’s why we have been seeing China extending its diplomatic, economic and military forays into the IOR, and the overland energy pipeline as well as port projects with various IOR littoral states are designed to ameliorate the “Malacca Dilemma” by providing alternative energy routes to China by reducing the need for Beijing to channel energy supplies through the Malacca Strait. It is still keen on the Kra Isthmus canal project in Thailand, though this is not making progress thus far. Moreover, because India has a resident military advantage in the IOR, this compounds China’s security problem. As such, China in the foreseeable future will expand its naval forays into the IOR. With this development, I’ll foresee also that India will focus its naval forces more with ENC, and where maritime power holistically is concerned, India will expand such security provisions to other IOR states, as we can see the new marsec linkages with Maldives, Mauritius and Sri Lanka, as well as the recent supply of patrol vessel to Mauritius, amongst other initiatives.

c. War on Terror

The threat posed by Islamic State (IS) is spreading from the Middle East south and eastwards, towards IOR and Southeast Asia (where a significant Muslim population resides), and this is an especially potential area for further Malaysia-India military and security cooperation. But the same would not apply that much with China.

d. Energy

India has significant investments in Russia Far East oil and gas fields, especially in Sakhalin. The state-owned ONGC Videsh Ltd is one of the key companies involved in those projects. This means that India has an energy dependence on the Western Pacific, since the Russian energy supplies have to come down via the sea route. As such, India's maritime effort being focused eastward will have greater imperative. Malaysia is certainly a natural close partner where SLOC security is concerned. However, with China this is more questionable. Still, SLOC security is an area of common interest these two Asian giants can explore for further security cooperation, though I'll say that this is contingent on New Delhi and Beijing being first able to adequately address persistent bilateral problems that have so far created mutual insecurities, suspicions and unease which beset further prospects for cooperation.

Based on the hypothetical scenario of Malaysia's power projection in EIOR, which is contingent on Kuala Lumpur's change of security focus, then certainly a role for further deepened Malaysia-India MARSEC cooperation can be foreseen. But as it stands, Malaysia's focus on EIOR is primarily concerned with Malacca Strait security. The MH370 incident may have opened up possibilities for Malaysia to look more seriously into maritime power projection into EIOR so that future similar incidents can be handled more effectively. But I foresee that the MH370 incident has opened up a potential avenue for closer bilateral cooperation, such as information sharing and provisions for mutual assistance in the area of maritime SAR. So far, based on foreseeable security developments to date, it is more plausible to see the Malaysian Government remaining more focused on issues in the South China Sea in particular, and of course, the militant intrusion in eastern Sabah in 2013 and persistent non-state threats in that region will continue to be a preoccupation.

Thus far counter-piracy is a major focus, especially when Malaysia is also involved in the mission off Somalia. There would be prospects, as mentioned earlier, for HA/DR and SAR for instance. But as I also mentioned earlier, Malaysia's maritime power projection is primarily focused on the South China Sea, not EIOR.

A. Malaysia's commitment to Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in EIOR through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

India's maritime influence is strongest when it comes to partnership with the other countries within its immediate IOR neighbourhood, for example with Maldives, Mauritius and Sri Lanka, etc. and strongest also where those initiatives were established by New Delhi. IONS is one such example, and so is the case of institutionalized multilateral training initiatives such as MILAN. IORA is one

other instance where India can exert stronger influence because of its “local advantage” in the IOR. However, if we look at institutions eastwards, India’s influence wanes. In the case of ASEAN-centric institutions, India is a dialogue partner and a valuable one at that, because of ASEAN’s philosophy of inclusivity and most importantly, to ensure that no one particular extra-regional power becomes dominant. Therefore, India’s influence is moderated by this constraint. However, I must stress, India’s role has great, persisting potential because it is regarded as an indispensable partner of ASEAN, for a variety of reasons: as a net security provider using its comparatively larger resource capacity as it has done for the tsunami HA/DR and MH370 search-and-locate mission, not to forget being a valuable Maritime Security (MARSEC) partner in the Malacca Strait. Also, India’s role as a counterweight to China’s rising clout and influence is considerable, and already at least two ASEAN countries have openly voiced urgency for India to play a greater role in response to recent tensions in the South China Sea.

Participation in regional maritime institutions helps build habits of cooperation, mutual understanding and confidence. Multilateral institutions such as ADMM-Plus and IONS for example will certainly have spillovers into the bilateral sphere. For example, cooperation against common security challenges could be discussed as agenda items in these regional multilateral platforms, but implementation may be necessary at the bilateral level since implementation on a much wider multilateral basis would be complicated, and too complex taking into consideration differing national contexts and commitments. So I’ll say that multilateral regional maritime institutions and the Malaysia-India bilateral cooperation are mutually complementary. The multilateral platform allows for more inclusive sharing of ideas about common security issues with a larger pool of concerned parties, yet at the same time facilitates bilateral implementation of joint solutions. Looked at in reverse, bilateral cooperation also helps bolster India and Malaysia’s positions in those multilateral institutions.

B. Malaysia’s perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

While it is clear that SLOC (if that’s what you mean, especially in the case of international SLOCs) security and safety can be a joint effort because of common concerns about freedom of navigation, EEZ is a sensitive issue because of the jurisdictional rights of individual coastal states. If EEZs are not overlapping or adjacent, it might be less conceivable to foresee cooperation where EEZs are concerned.

I’ll still encourage you to define the scope of “other regional maritime powers” not just because of the issue of scoping but also, the conceptual issue that arises

about potential partners who are willing or may be in a position to contain China, and adding another associated layer of complexity to this would be whether any of these other regional maritime powers necessarily view China as aggressive, or whether they view Chinese aggression in the EIOR as necessarily impinging upon their national interests to necessitate them to act.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

2. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

Disaster management and SAR could be one, which triggered a need for more effective collaboration after MH370 incident.

MALAYSIA GROUP INTERVIEWS**Malaysia Group Interview 1 (MG-1)**

Date of Interview: 3rd October 2014
Time: 10.00 hours
Duration: 2 hour 30 minutes
Location: Ministry of Defence, Jalan Padang Tembak,
 50634 Kuala Lumpur
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

It was a nice sunny day and after 15 minutes' drive I reached Jalan Padang Tembak, 10 minutes before the appointment. This meeting was a focus group discussion. All of the informants were already in the office and we all gathered in a big conference room. The room was comfortable and well equipped. They had organized the meeting in a formal way having all the IT facilities along with refreshments. So we all greeted each other and sat in the conference room. The interview started exactly on time.

All informants were looking fresh and responded warmly. They were well prepared as all of them had received the questionnaire two weeks before the date of meeting. Their response to my questions was excellent. All of the five informants were from the same defense ministry but working in different departments so the session became diverse and rich, full of useful information and knowledge.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview. It was a detailed and very comprehensive group discussion. I took an additional 30 minutes because the informants and I were having a very positive and in-depth discussion. Their reflections on traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats were detailed yet we also covered the topic of the defense industry.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee: Confidential
Designation: Principal Assistant Secretary
Age: Middle-aged

Field of Expertise:	Bilateral Defense Cooperation (Asia (Middle & South), Africa and Middle East)
Professional Experience:	Ministry of Defense
Years of Experience:	18 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Informant Details:	
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Principal Assistant Secretary
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Policy and Strategic Planning Division
Professional Experience:	Ministry of Defense
Years of Experience:	24 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Informant Details:	
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Principal Assistant Secretary
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	International Organization and Local (Maritime Security)
Professional Experience:	Royal Malaysian Navy and Ministry of Defense
Years of Experience:	28 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Informant Details:	
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Principal Assistant Secretary
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Policy and Strategic Planning Division (Non-Traditional Issues)

Professional Experience:	Ministry of Defense
Years of Experience:	18 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Informant Details:	
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Staff Officer 1 (Operation)
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Navy Headquarters Operations and Exercise Division
Professional Experience:	Ministry of Defense
Years of Experience:	30 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

A. Malaysia's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the potential external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The officers believe that one of the driving factors in the India-Malaysia maritime relationship is the need to explore new areas of joint venture including extra regional maritime intervention. There is also a need to have a common platform to develop a defense industry, as our foreign policy is to 'prosper the neighbor'. There is also a need for strategic partnership between Malaysia and China, India and the US.

They observed that India doesn't seem to have the spirit of outreach engagement, as perhaps they may be preoccupied with internal political issues and the war with Pakistan. The Pakistan factor has thus influenced India's internal and external political infrastructure and impacted maritime cooperation between other countries including Malaysia. The officers reiterated that India's most immediate threat is terrorism, i.e. the Mumbai Bombing.

2. What are the potential internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

In terms of the PIO, the officers agree that that could be used as a leverage, since culture is one of the pillars of ASEAN. They reiterated that cultural awareness is key. The officers also stated that China is very culture-based and although there is a Chinese diaspora in Malaysia, Malaysia only actively engaged China in 2005. The officers also suggested that the researcher looks at the realpolitik of China-Malaysia before comparing with India-Malaysia and reemphasized that our FP is issues-based.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

The researcher posits that in comparison, China's relationship with Malaysia is complex, unlike India which is benign. Also, according to the literature, defense cooperation between India and Malaysia is not very significant. Thus the researcher questions the inconsistency.

In terms of Malaysia choosing/not choosing China over India, the officers informed me that the PM has mandated very clearly in Singapore that Malaysia's FP is more issues oriented rather than capability oriented. Therefore, we are neutral as illustrated by our commitment in ZOPFAN and

NAM. As our FP is principle based, we can be critical of both friend and foe – and our FP is consistent in this matter to prevent any hegemony.

Side note: They also suggested that the researcher expand the research to cover ASEAN and its role and to look at ADMM as well. One official stated that ADMM is unique as this defense ministers' platform is the first and only one in the world.

They also stated that although Malaysia is aligned with the ASEAN perspective, both India and China are still important to them. Economically, it is in Malaysia's best interests to provide a conducive environment via defense and security for economic prosperity. He stated that Malaysia acknowledges India as a regional power. Therefore, in terms of balancing both relations with India and China, the right thing to do is to be 'moderate'.

In terms of our power positioning, they stated that although we are a small power, we are very strong in diplomatic relations and we are able to manage crises diplomatically. As ASEAN cannot match the military power of both China and India, we became very good at hedging. ASEAN is also a part of the regional architecture that does the balancing for Malaysia. Therefore, with regards to the previous examples, one informant opined that Malaysia is indeed doing very well.

B. Malaysia's commitment to Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The members of the group questioned the assumption of the researcher. They viewed the relationship between India and Malaysia as matured. They stated that although they are unsure about trade and economics, it is business as usual for both navies in terms of talks, exercises, IONS – much like Malaysia's engagements with other countries.

The officers rebutted the alleged lack of defence cooperation and insisted that defense cooperation between India and Malaysia is active. One stated that Malaysia has been actively sending officers and men for various courses, including SUKHOI expertise course, gunnery and submarine specialization.

The officers stated that joint maritime training programs like MILAN are a very important exercise for Malaysia and emphasised that India is Malaysia's very important traditional partner – in comparison to China, no policies have been implemented. Between India-Malaysia, there were high-level meetings with both Secretary Generals of the respective countries, annual meetings between Chief of Navies, Air Force and Army and they stated that Malaysia's Secretary General has reminded the bureaucrats to not forget India. They reemphasised again that India is incredibly significant to Malaysia and

remarked that it is unfortunate that our relationship with India is not well marketed.

In terms of receiving defence assistance/training/cooperation from India, the officers affirmed that they will receive India's help with open arms and even posited that an SAR exercise in the IOR would be most welcome.

The officers explained that Malaysia's DP is capability based and not threat based, therefore we tend to engage in a passive way – but that doesn't mean that it is contributing to national security. They stated that Malaysia is very particular about projecting the professionalism of the armed forces. The rebalancing of power or power projection is a major concern of Malaysia as well as India.

The officers suggested looking at the IONS as they view it as peculiar – it is modelled after the WPNS, but its co-founder (India) is not a permanent member. This shows India's passivity. However, they found it to be peculiar that 2 other IOR nations are not part of the IONS too (Pakistan and Indonesia).

Other suggestions:

- a. Read Henry Kissinger's World Order in terms of US engagement with India.
- b. Study lessons learned on how Malaysia and India are using the SUKHOIS and what we could learn from each other.
- c. As the ASEAN Chair - how will Malaysia project its power
- d. India's national policy from past to present
- e. Why should India take more ownership in IONS
- f. Why should India's defense industry capitalise on the quality of human capital of ASEAN
- g. How should Malaysia leverage MDCP?

C. Malaysia's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

In terms of Maritime Territory, Security of SLOCs and the EEZ, the officers suggested that the researcher define them in terms of State Actors (Traditional) and Non-state Actors (Non-Traditional). Side note: However, as the security of *Selat Melaka* is vital, they stated that it must be protected at all times. Defense industry collaboration and technical and logistics assistance can make lots of difference in traditional maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

Although SCS is a red zone, the officers claimed that it is not properly managed. As there are more NTS issues in the SCS, it is unsurprising that China is promoting NTS cooperation.

In terms of the Maritime Industrial Complex, for Malaysia, defense procurement is done by barter trade (SUKHOI for palm oil) and that cost is always the deciding factor.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

2. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

In their opinion, what is deemed most hurtful to Malaysia is categorised as pre-2005 and post 2005. Pre-2005, before the launch of the 'Eye in the Sky', it was piracy. Now, as the number of piracy attacks has decreased dramatically, the issue that is a security threat is human smuggling and trafficking – PATI, Rohingyas, Mindanao. One officer remarked that the PATI in Malaysia is innumerable. They also stated that the NSC has identified the current threats for Malaysia as PATI, trafficking and NGOs. The officers also stated that Malaysia is no longer a transit point, but a destination point for PATI. They remarked that perhaps they need to adopt a military campaign such as "Operation Sovereign Border" to counter this issue.



Malaysia Group Interview 2 (MG-2)

Date of Interview: 25th November 2014
Time: 14.00 hours
Duration: 1 hour and 40 minutes
Location: Ministry of Defense 2, Wangsa Maju, Ampang Selangor.
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

This interview was arranged after the group meeting at MINDEF. The officers in MINDEF suggested that I meet the officers at MINDEF 2 to get a more in-depth understanding of the defense industry, which is believed to be an important factor in understanding shifts in Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation. Thus, the outcome of the interview is not based on tentative questions like other interviews.

It was a pleasant but warm sunny day and I drove 15 minutes by car and reached exactly at the given time at the office in Selangor. The meeting had been scheduled on my request via email to the PA. Upon arrival, the PA had received me to take me to the office of the Under Secretary, which was upstairs. He was already in the office greeting me and after a short while both of the Principal Assistant Secretaries also joined us. They were all very nice and pleasant to me. The interview started a little late by 15 minutes. They had already read my questionnaire and were prepared to give responses to all my questions and also their expert opinion on the issues. The Under Secretary was a middle-aged civil servant and had a very mature and professional appearance. He has a good handle on the defense industry, as he was serving for the last 20 years and had a lot of points to discuss. The other two ladies were also very keenly interested in my topic and gave their reviews and answered the questions.

After reaching his office directly, the interview started on time. The office was quiet, big and comfortable. Their attitude was very welcoming and I found them and especially the Under Secretary to be very friendly, open minded and honest about his work. The PA told me that he had already scheduled his office work to spare 1.30 hours but he gave me an additional 10 minutes. The informants were looking fresh and greeted me warmly. I sensed the Under Secretary's positive

response when I saw that he had the printouts of the interview question sheet that I emailed his PA.

During the interview I preferred to avoid the usual tentative questions, rather I preferred to ask more probing questions to have a more detailed response, which was indeed given. No abnormal interruptions happened during the interview, it was straight to the point and informative. I took 10 additional minutes from the allotted time. Their reflections on defense industry policies of Malaysia and the EIOR were in depth and detailed. The Under Secretary replied to all of my questions in detail and the response was very literary which proves him to be very knowledgeable person but I was surprise to know that at the same time he is business minded to which an additional characteristic of his personality.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Under Secretary
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Defense Industry
Professional Experience:	Civil servant
Years of Experience:	20+ years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Principal Assistant Secretary
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Defense Industry
Professional Experience:	Civil servant
Years of Experience:	17 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Principal Assistant Secretary
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Defense Industry
Professional Experience:	Civil Servant
Years of Experience:	14 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome

The conversation started with an argument that the local industry is not ready and is fully dependent on the government. India is a country that is situated next to an unstable state: Pakistan. Thus, internal consumption is high and India does not want to sell to outside countries. India has the capability to sell but it refuses because the priority remains for internal usage. The Hindustani aerospace has been exporting but only for services. The main factor underlying this scenario is because most companies are state owned companies and therefore selling equipment is difficult. Most companies only explain what they want and need and there is no comprehensive execution plan. They have the capacity to produce – such as shipbuilding and training ships – but external sales skills are low or rather not utilised well.

There are 6 clusters in MINDEF and the best cluster is maritime. It has all the capability to build but the current design is for commercial and not for defense purpose. There are several attempts on offshore boats between Malaysia and Europe (Turkey for example) but with India, it is based on maintenance services (know how to maintain).

The officer explained that Malaysia is still focusing on outputs and not outcomes. Malaysia's defense industry is focused more to sell within Malaysia. Malaysia's consumption is not high since it's not a war country, yet selling is low due to money constraints and lack of execution plans. He believed that there is no good salesman in Malaysia and they do not have confidence. He compared Singapore which is top in ASEAN; good salesman skills are the reason behind their success. He also related cultural strategic thinking as one of the factors for Malaysia's defense industry drawback.

Malaysia has good ship services skills, which India can utilize. Most Indian ships are sent to Europe for services with high expenses, which could otherwise send to Malaysia and benefit both Malaysia and India. (The Defense Advisor of India also said this to Malaysia – Col Praveen Chabbra).

In discussion in the future, he stressed that India should be a major plan for Malaysia. India is a high consuming state and Malaysia could be an important market. The government could be poor but engagement between business to business has a good future. Malaysia should remain the focus and develop ship repairing and maintenance for the success of its future defense industry.

Malaysia Group Interview 3 (MG-3)

Date of Interview: 27th December 2014
Time: 14.00 hours
Duration: 1 hour 40 minutes
Location: Police Headquarters, Bukit Aman
 50560 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

It was a hot sunny afternoon and after a 40 minutes' drive I reached Bukit Aman, 15 minutes before the appointment. The Police Headquarters is a high security area so they stopped me at the gate and then a police car dropped me to my required office. This meeting was a focused group discussion; both of my informants were police officers. I went straight to the ACP's PA office and she guided me towards the meeting room where I waited for a while. After 10 to 15 minutes both of the informants came and we all gathered in a big conference room. The room was very comfortable and very well equipped. They had organized the meeting in a formal way with all the IT facilities along with refreshments, delicious sandwiches and hot coffee. We all greet each other and sat down. The interview started exactly on time.

Both of the informants were looking fresh and responded warmly. They were quite prepared as they had received the questionnaire two weeks before the date of meeting. As they were experts in the area of drug trafficking and narcotics, their responses to my questions related to their field were excellent. Both of the informants were from the same office and departments so the session become rich and answers were in depth full of useful information and knowledge.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview except some phone calls. It was a detailed and very comprehensive discussion. I took an additional 10 minutes' time because the informants and I were having a very positive and in-depth discussion. There reflections on drug trafficking, human smuggling and weapon smuggling gave me some very useful insights. Also they provided some good data, which were original cases, and some other useful reports. The interview ended with huge smiles on all our faces and we departed with a friendly gesture.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Director
Age:	Middle-aged

Field of Expertise:	Intelligence/International Liaison Narcotics Crime Investigation Department (NCID)
Professional Experience:	Royal Malaysian Police
Years of Experience:	32 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Informant Details:	
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Assistant Director
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Intelligence/International Liaison Narcotics Crime Investigation Department (NCID)
Professional Experience:	Royal Malaysian Police
Years of Experience:	28 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

A. Malaysia's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The China Factor makes a big difference as China is seen as an important determining driver, especially if one see its maritime ambition in the IOR in a boarder aspect, e.g. in relation to Sri Lanka and Myanmar. There is a changing political environment, for instance China is using water as a medium to smuggle drugs to countries like New Zealand and Australia. At the same time some other non-traditional security threats like the arms trade and human trafficking in the Indian Ocean Region also influences Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation.

2. What are the potential internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

Democratic values could be one determining factor but the way democracy is administrated could differ. Cultural diaspora plays an important role in understanding the relationship. Also bureaucratic influences, the Look East policy along with the shift to Act East policy are some potential internal drivers.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in EIOR in the context of the above factors?

There are various determining factors which are influencing the rebalancing of overall and maritime power, for instance in India's perspective India's desire for maritime power and India's maritime significance to Malaysia. On the other hand from Malaysia's point of view, Malaysia's desire for maritime power and Malaysia's maritime significance to India are some of the factors.

B. Malaysia's commitment on Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

There is not much mutual cooperation between Malaysia and India on maritime security in the EIOR but there should be, like in technical and logistics assistance, expertise in peace-keeping operations, collective trainings and security initiatives. So there is a need for a breakthrough in maritime relationships on both the Malaysian and Indian side. A bilateral mechanism for maritime cooperation is a need of the hour.

C. Malaysia's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

No comment was given because informant has no knowledge of this area.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

2. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

In discussing on the drug trafficking issue, it was argued that there are generally three major networks throughout the Indian Ocean Region – Golden Emerald (South America), Golden Crescent (Iran-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India), and Golden Triangle (North Myanmar-Thailand-Laos-Yunan).

The discussion focused on the Golden Triangle, as it was believed to be a major concern for most of the Southeast Asia Region. At the North Myanmar provision, it was argued that the cultivation of opium is famous and a similar scenario could be seen at Laos where marijuana is cultivated openly and is secured by private military troops. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) did express these concerns

regarding the open cultivation of drugs. Malaysia being the neighboring country, it is highly affected by this scenario where drugs such as methamphetamine, heroine, yaaba pills become available.

Drugs in the Yunan province, particularly synthetic drugs, were believed to be coming from the Golden Triangle. These new networks were believed to be a lucrative business at the east coast of China. When asked if these drugs were smuggled at the waters adjacent to China, the RMP officers argued that several ports often used in China are believed to be smuggling drugs to Australia and New Zealand. When asked if there is an official policy, the RMP officers mentioned that in 2013, there was an MoU signed by current Defence Minister Hishamuddin at the International Summit on Transnational Crime, as both Malaysia and China recognized the issue.

In discussion on the issue of death sentences in Malaysia, the RMP officers argued that it is effective although there are only convictions but no actions taken. (The last one was in 1989.)

When discussing the drug network between Malaysia and India, the RMP officers discussed in-depth the Modus Operandi. Poor Indians in Malaysia were working with the Chinese syndicate especially in the 1960s, which was soon taken over by the Indians themselves who travel to India and bring back drugs to Malaysia.

Some drugs to India are coming from Nepal, such as Marijuana. Some also come from Iran-Pakistan-India where huge amounts of methamphetamine and ketamine are being brought to Malaysia. The RMP authorities argued that it is obvious that ketamine in Malaysia is coming from India, as a huge number of ketamine is being cultivated in India, places such as Chennai and New Delhi. Mumbai is indeed a major hub for the production of ketamine and has strong connections with local Malaysian Indians. The price in India is much cheaper, and it is sold at double the price (1 kilo is RM1000 in India, sold in Malaysia for RM40,000). One of the newest trends is now the Nigerians exploiting Indian Malaysians girls for the smuggling of drugs between Malaysia and India.

In questioning the policy between Malaysia and India, Malaysian authorities expressed disappointment as they argued that the Indian authorities are not very effective – such as the division between north and south India.

The RMP authorities confirmed that weapons found during drug trafficking are only used for the purpose of protection and not for sale or attacks.

INDIA INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS**India Individual 1 (II-1)**

Date of Interview: 1st December 2014
Time: 14.00 hours
Duration: 2 hours
Location: High Commission of India, Level 28, Menara
 1 Mon't Kiara, No.1, Jalan Mon't Kiara,
 50480, Kuala Lumpur
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

Interview with the honorable informant was made possible by a very close friend, Kesavan, who was a member of the Perak India chamber. He made all the arrangements for my meeting with him, but I personally delivered the questionnaires via email to the informant. Due to the informant's busy schedule he was not able to read it, but he was very welcoming and serious about the topic of discussion. I went to his office directly where I meet his PA. He made me sit for a while and after almost 20 minutes he allowed me to enter his office. He made me feel very comfortable. We both sitting on the sofa in his office and started talking about India-Malaysia relations and future directions and opportunities in general. It was a very healthy informal discussion. We talked in our native language Tamil, which was the best thing I experienced in the whole meeting. Coffee along with nice refreshments were a great addition.

The interview was held in his office and the room was very comfortable. At the end of an informal session with refreshments - delicious sandwiches and hot coffee - he started the formal session. The informant was very bold and open in explaining India-Malaysia relations, and responded to my each and every question, giving me deep insights on the issues.

. It was a detailed and very comprehensive discussion. In the end he gave me the valuable contact of Col. Praveen Chhabra, defense advisor of India to Malaysia, to whom I am thankful for arranging my later interviews in India. After that the interview ended with a smile and we depart with a friendly gesture.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	High Commissioner
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	High Commissioner of India to Malaysia
Professional Experience:	
Years of Experience:	25+
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome

A. India's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

China is a crucial factor especially China's maritime ambition in the IOR. As a rising power in the Asia-Pacific region, China is a significant driver in Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation. China's maritime development around the IOR shows its interest in ensuring that its position as a maritime power is recognized. However, China is not a threat to India as it is geographically situated far from the EIOR and its focus remains at SCS. India shares its policy narrative on the IOR with USA and EU concerning its defense strategy in the IOR. Malaysia's development in the technology industry is where India takes interest in collaboration with Malaysia.

2. What are the potential internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

Cultural diaspora is an important element. As a serving officer, he argued that cultural elements play an important role in shaping India's foreign policy towards Malaysia. Our Iron Curtain Policy aims at ensuring Asian maritime security by countering any possible ambitious activity on disputed islands. PM Modi has announced the Act East Policy to accelerate diplomatic commitments into strategic economic and security partnerships.

3. How is India going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

India's position in the SEA region is a unique case and it can balance equally between India and China. The balancing factor is dependent on Malaysia and what it can offer to attract India in engaging a better balance of power in the

region. Malaysia should be able to recognize India as a security protector in the IOR. Perhaps that will create a shift in the balance of power vis-à-vis China.

B. India's commitment on Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

The level of commitment is positive but Malaysia's lack of engagement or moderate attitude leads to a lack of cooperation between Malaysia and India. Malaysia needs to show more active involvement and interest in India, and it should recognize India's role as a leader in ensuring maritime interest in the EIOR and accept India's involvement in maritime issues. Malaysia cannot support that India exchanges commodities such as oil palm over heavy military weapons. Both need to project a win-win situation to develop a more pronounced commitment. India is already engaged through a number of regional maritime programs with Malaysia, and diplomatic ties are maturing. I believe it's time to move towards a bilateral framework so that both countries can share their maritime expertise directly with each other. I consider it more strategic for both countries.

C. India's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

SLOC is an important element in understanding traditional maritime security threats. As it does not know boundaries, territorial disputes can occur at areas of overlapping territory waters. India is consciously looking at China's String of Pearls strategy and its intrusive engagement in the IOR through Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

2. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

He prioritizes these as: Piracy, disaster management, SAR, and drug trafficking. Human smuggling is not so much of a concern between Malaysia and India. Maritime cooperation in the areas of disaster management can be more crucial for human assistance. Both countries can do a lot more together in many non-traditional areas of maritime security, yet it requires them to sit together and develop serious diplomatic mechanism.



India Individual 2 (II-2)

Date of Interview: 12th December 2015
Time: 14.00 hours
Duration: 4 hours and 20 minutes
Location: Level 28, Menara 1 Mon't Kiara, Jln Kiara,
 50480 Kuala Lumpur, Wilayah Persekutuan,
 Kuala Lumpur

Number of interview sessions: 2

Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

As promised by the High Commissioner, I finally met Col Praveen Chhabra. It was a pleasant sunny day and I drove my car and reached exactly at the given time to his office in the High Commission of India at Malaysia. He gave me his precious time and it was a really nice experience to meet him, as he was quite professional, focused and an expert in his field. Although he is not working in naval services, he has deep insights and profound knowledge about maritime security cooperation. I found him to arrive in time, a very impressive and smart middle-aged person. He had read my questionnaire and was already prepared to give responses to all my questions and also give his expert opinion on the issues.

I went to his office accompanied by his PA. The interview started on time. The office was quiet, cool and comfortable. He later told me that he had postponed some of his meetings to give me time, and I was really obliged to have such a welcoming response from a senior official. He gave me more than 4 hours, which were indeed worthwhile. The informant was looking fresh and greeted me warmly.

During the interview I preferred to avoid tentative questions; rather, I asked more probing questions to gauge more detailed responses. During the interview, we took a break of 10 minutes in which tea was served, another pleasant addition because both of us got some time to relax and discuss the related but more informal issues, which enriched my interview. He even referred to his map suggesting geographical factors played an important role in Malaysia-India relations.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview, it was straight to the point and informative. I took 15 additional minutes from the allotted time. His reflections on both traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats were in depth and detailed. The interview ended with a pleasant smile giving a friendly and welcoming gesture.

Informant Details

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Praveen Chabbra
Designation:	Defense Attache
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Military Officer
Professional Experience:	Defense Advisor
Years of Experience:	30 years
Anonymity Required:	No

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

Interview Outcome

A. India's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

He argued China is a crucial driving factor. James Shoal is a disputed area in the SCS and it is form of power projection for the Chinese in the area. SCS is a disputed area and the focus is more there compared to the EIOR, where the relationship between Malaysia and India is very mature and long standing.

Another driver is the ever-changing geopolitical scenario in the EIOR such as the rivalry between USA and China, in filling the power vacuum in the region. The war on terror is not new but a new paradigm shift is seen in energy competition.

2. What are the potential internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

He spoke about the cultural diaspora and geographical proximity, but most importantly he stressed on democratic and moderate values, which are similar driving factors in both Malaysia and India.

3. How can Malaysia work with India to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the aforementioned factors?

Malaysia should show more commitment in recognizing India as a major and crucial power to create a new power vacuum in the EIOR region. Malaysia's failure to do so could be a drawback in the imbalance of power in the EIOR, with a stronger leaning towards China.

B. India's commitment on Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

India is willing to cooperate with Malaysia on any issue. He highlighted the day the MH370 incident occurred. India was the first navy to dispatch SAR group to help find the victims. However, more can be done. Rather than just navy-to-navy talks and annual handshaking, a more proactive engagement should be encouraged, e.g. confidence building,

He suggested a shift could take place in shipbuilding and maintenance services. Malaysia has good services in this area, which is cheaper for India to utilize.

C. India's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

SLOC is a vital traditional threat. Major economic commodities of the world run through these waters. The safety of SOM is crucial because they are the home waters for Malaysia. The rising Chinese maritime power can be misused in case of any ambitious government there, or in any of her ally countries in Asia. India understands its responsibility as the major maritime power in the IOR yet other countries like Malaysia need to engage with India to proactively manage any such ambitious player.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

Piracy is believed to be a major concern – giving referencing to India's involvement with the piracy attack in Somalia. Geographical limitation is not a factor for curbing piracy attacks around the IOR and therefore this also the case of Malaysia and India in the EIOR.

Disaster Management in SAR is also one area of concern. Referring to MH370, he suggested it is a major area of cooperation.



India Individual 3 (II-3)

Date of Interview: 2nd March 2015
Time: 11.00 hours
Duration: 2 hours and 15 minutes
Location: Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, 1, Development Enclave, (near USI), New Delhi, 110010, India.

Number of interview sessions: 1

Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Contextual Information (Researcher's Memo):

This informant was the only research officer who was doing research on maritime and littoral security in IDSA. He was initially busy and could not meet me, however he managed to find time and insisted on helping and guiding me in my research. I truly admire his level of commitment to his job and my thesis.

It was a beautiful morning and I was very excited to meet him. He welcomed me with such warmth that I got comfortable immediately. I was in his office room sitting on the couch and then we began. He was so enthusiastic during the interview session that I listened to each detail with admiration and interest.

The informant is an expert in naval affairs, especially on the Indo-Pacific region and also focusing on Southeast Asia. The informant gave very positive and detailed answers to my questions and he covered each and every aspect of the questions fully. There were no pastries or coffee served but that was not an issue as I was already engaging so strongly in the interview that I was only busy jotting down notes. He was kind enough to introduce me to Mr. Collin Koh from Singapore to help further my research at the end of our interview session. He said goodbye and told me to stay in touch in the future.

Informant Details

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Research Fellow & Serving Naval Officer
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Navy Officer
Professional Experience:	Navy officer
Years of Experience:	28 years

Anonymity Required:

Yes

A. India's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

One country should first position itself and gain leverage for specific purposes (sustainability) before establishing engagement with another country. The question of who, what, why and how should be addressed in an explicit manner; no sentimental thoughts (Pakistan) should be affecting the relationship. Differences should be set aside.

China's engagement in the IOR can dilute India's power projection in the IOR, therefore posing a potential threat. Yet at the moment, China's interest is only on trade in the IOR security scenario.

2. What are the potential internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The cultural diaspora is a major driving internal force. Both India and Malaysia have a long standing relationship and it has strong influence in shaping India's foreign policy with Malaysia.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

I believe this question must be answered by the Malaysian authorities, yet based on my experience and research in this area I can offer some insights. Malaysia's maritime strategy options are tied to engagement with India in addressing any excessive Chinese activity in SCS over disputed islands. The same is true for India's Iron curtain policy for which she needs close maritime cooperation with East Asian littoral states. The potentials for Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation is more in SOM. But it would be unjust to limit cooperation to traditional security issues; non-traditional issues need more cooperation. Any power play in the IOR would be more an interplay between US, China and India. In this context, Malaysia-India maritime collaboration is more plausible with US support to counterbalance possible Chinese over ambitions. Both nations agree to not allow direct extra-regional intervention in the IOR.

B. India's commitment to Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

Malaysia has cooperation with India on SUKHOI, SCORPENO CLUB, KILO but it is generally on training personnel and capacity building, and there is not much high level cooperation. Malaysia is believed not to be innovative in policy making, compared to its neighboring countries, like Indonesia. President Joko Widodo had a vision on Indonesia's maritime policy since he took over the administration. MALSINDO was active for three years but then it seemed to become static. The Malaysian navies are lacking in equipment and focus on logistics is vital to create a shift in the relationship. Malaysia requires both capability and strategic interest for a more proactive engagement, and needs to increase its guts on security matters and draw a broader vision like its neighboring country Indonesia. The maritime domain is flexible and cooperation is easier and hence should be used as an opportunity for M-I maritime cooperation. Malaysia should consider the frontier concept versus near abroad concept in engaging with India. Malaysia is seen to be focused more on commerce and trade but in defense there is a lack. It is high time for Malaysia to reconstruct its strategic thought, and new element should be thought through e.g. the Maritime Axis Doctrine, the question of what, who, when, why. On the question of constructing axes, alliances, adversaries, a more detailed grouping and framework should be drawn up. The change in strategic thought is believed to come through successfully if a stronger leadership role is projected by India (think tanks are a first step). One interesting fact given was the innovative idea of Malaysia e.g. the Malaysia Defense Security and Technology Park (military and consumer product in Asia). Both India and Malaysia have long diplomatic relationships and these can be used to enable cooperation in the defense industry. Engagement can only occur if both parties can offer balanced technology and resources, which all comes down to the development of strategic thinking. The question lies in the cost-benefit factor.

A comprehensive framework is needed – low level to high level, e.g. ADMM Plus and India's role in IONS. Different levels of discussion and engagement should be initiated – material resources, (research)-tactical cooperation, (HADR)-midlevel cooperation, regional cooperation (West Bengal), bilateral cooperation, strategic cooperation. Other ways of thinking about levels are the political, bureaucratic, – administrative. Another fact is communication – not just knowing about but also knowing how, e.g. HADR procedure, how are both countries conducting the process. Working on dissimilarities will increase efficiency in engagement.

In questioning ASEAN, India supports the framework and Malaysia's decision to engage through the ASEAN platform but it would only limit itself on a political level. E.g. ARF, EAS, East Asia Maritime Forum (EAMF). The ADMM Plus is a collective measure (my opinion - ADMM Plus track two). Bilateral cooperation is the need of the hour yet it would be welcomed only if Malaysia is enthusiastic in engaging or projecting a bigger role, in other words a proactive engagement. India declares its blue water navy strategy and it is in the hands of SEA nations to seek opportunities and create collective engagement in ensuring maritime security in the IOR.

C. India's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

Traditional cooperation needs more focus because India does not show threats, it represents benign behavior, and is willing to abide by principles, e.g. SLOC, safety navigations. India has openly expressed its blue water ambitions unlike the Chinese, which shows India's benign behavior.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

2. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

The discussion began by stating that Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation is more focused on NT security issues due to both nations adopting cooperative behavior, e.g. HADR and SAR, piracy etc.; MILAN for the purpose of HADR. In the IONS, India's voluntary involvement expresses its benign behavior, also in ADMM PLUS.

INDIA GROUP INTERVIEWS**India Group 1 (IG-1)**

Date of Interview: 24th March 2015
Time: 10.00 hours
Duration: 2 hour 40 minutes
Location: The United Service of India, Rao Tula Ram Marg, Opposite Signal Enclave, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi, 110057, India
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Col Praveen Chabbara, the Defense Attache in Malayasia, organized the meeting with the United Service of India(USI). It was a quiet morning and it took me one hour and 30 minutes to reach USI with a rented car in New Delhi. Upon reaching, I met Dr. Roshan who was the person in charge of the meeting. After about 10 minutes, I walked towards a small discussion room where I met the informants. They were all excited and waiting to deliver their response. It was a warm room with no air-conditioning. After a brief introduction, the interview began.

All informants were looking fresh and responded warmly. They were well prepared as all of them had questionnaires two weeks before the date of meeting. Their response to my questions was excellent. All of the five informants are of military background and had good knowledge on international relations and defense studies. One was a serving officer who could not comment much due to restrictions but the other officer was seen dominating the conversation due to seniority and also due to the fact that he was a retired officer.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview. It was a detailed and very comprehensive group discussion. I took additional 30 minutes since we were having a very positive and in-depth discussion. Reflections were very vast on all areas of the interview. Coffee and tea was served. The interview ended with huge smiles on all our faces and we departed with a friendly gesture.

Informant Details:

Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	The United Services of India
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Maritime

Professional Experience:	Retired Naval Officer
Years of Experience:	28 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	The United Services of India
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Maritime
Professional Experience:	Serving Naval Officer
Years of Experience:	28 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informant had been provided with a King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

A. India's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

The USI representative started the explanation by commenting that Malaysia shifted her policy by leaning towards Pakistan in 1970 during the Cold War. The first informant suggested that this could be the possible drawback of Malaysia-India international relations. The second informant further argued that the possible act of Malaysia's equation in the Indo-Pakistan war in formulating its foreign policy with India might seem unfair to India. The 'Question of Pakistan' is believed to be a vital factor and a drawback in bringing forward a mature relationship between Malaysia and India, unlike India's relationship with Singapore and Indonesia.

In discussing the China factor, China is seen as a potential threat rather than a real threat. China's power projection in the IOR, if not militarized, is not a threat to India. India is a benign power and benign engagement by China is not a threat and China is rather seen as a strategic partner in the IOR.

The first informant argued that geographical limitation could be a factor in determining Malaysia-India maritime cooperation. However he felt that geographical distance is and should not be a major factor. He felt that if geographical proximity is a concern then many provinces within India would not be connected with one another, taking into consideration the fact that India comprises a huge land mass.

2. What are the internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

Cultural diaspora plays an important role. Since Raja Chola's era, Malaysia has received Indian sea voyages for trading purposes. However, these trading activities soon led to local settlements at major trading ports. He says that these local settlements spread culture, religion and languages, leading to a diverse Malaysia today.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

In discussing India's maritime desire and ambitions to strive as a blue water navy or a global maritime power in the Indian Ocean, a rather surprising response was received. The idea that the Indian Ocean is India's ocean is a misconception. The 9 dotted lines at the Indian Ocean are also another untrue statement. India is one emerging maritime power in the Indian Ocean that does not have any maritime dispute with its neighbors and littoral states. It can be seen through India's involvement in Maldives and Sri Lanka in ensuring peace despite its strong NAM policy. It is only right to say that the Indian Ocean is India's underbelly and that maritime security and the safety and peaceful environment of the IOR is vital for its national interest to be preserved. Any disability in the IOR is a direct threat to India's national interest and sovereignty but there is no claim that India owns the Indian Ocean. India is a vital power in the Indian Ocean and one cannot ignore India's involvement when it comes to the Indian Ocean. Malaysia as a vital power at the SOM cannot ignore India's role as a defender or protector in ensuring a power balance in the EIOR.

B. India's commitment on Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

In response to the research question, the informants suggested that Malaysia's defense industry is believed to be less capable and could utilize the vast capability of India, especially on military equipment. The SCORPENO CLUB is one good explanation but a more forward outlook is needed, e.g. trust in indigenous exchange and the maintenance of ships of the first and second line. Others are the SU30s, KILo class, training, batteries industries that could be more costly. It was argued that the cost factor is a vital one; a more comprehensive framework is required in order to produce a more pronounced defense industry relationship. The question of who can share costs is vital, as is considering the extent of the losses. This requires a change in mindset.

In questioning the role of India in ASEAN, the opinion was that using a mediator can be a drawback in the relationship, although ASEAN is welcomed. It was argued - is ASEAN the only way? Bilateral mechanisms can also be a way of engagement and non-conventional areas are the starting point.

It is believed that Malaysia lacks in enthusiasm, causing a lack of engagement with India.

In conclusion, it was argued that convergence of interest and mutual interest is vital, but do not seem to be convincing between Malaysia and India. The sea is one area of easy cooperation due to the fact that there is no governance in the sea. Political will is a vital driver in any relationship and Malaysia-India maritime cooperation is no exception. It is vital for Malaysia to throw away the old baggage of the 'Question of Pakistan' in shaping its foreign policy. A global warning could be one paradigm shift in the relationship. A shift in strategic thinking in Malaysia is vital to ensure a more sound and pronounced maritime relationship with India (either win-win or be selfish). The role of think tankers is vital in the case of Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation, which could later be uplifted into a higher level of cooperation. It was argued that the time has come for Malaysia to Look West to India, while India is Looking East or Acting East has ended (Look East Policy vs. Look West Policy).

C. India's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

India has great interest in engaging with Malaysia due to its strategic location at the Straits of Malacca. It is a busiest trade route and it is vital for India's maritime interest. As a sovereign country, Malaysia's territories are respected and India is a strong follower of NAM, and stay neutral has always been the cornerstone of its foreign policy. Malaysia should engage India in a more proactive manner. It is believed that it is due to this mentality and also Malaysia's lack of enthusiasm in engaging that is causing the disjointed appearance of the relationship.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

2. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

In discussing the NTI, which is believed to be the potential area of cooperation between Malaysia and India, amendment of law is crucial in projecting more positive cooperation because maritime areas have no boundaries. It is vital that a more clear and accurate maritime law is shaped to create not just confidence among countries but to avoid conflicts. E.g. the Alone Rainbow Case.

However, in the case of cooperating to curtail illicit activities, it is first important to seek coordination between the law of the state and federal law.

India Group 2 (IG-2)

Date of Interview: 26th March 2015
Time: 10.00 hours
Duration: 2 hour 20 minutes
Location: Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, 1, Development Enclave (near USI), New Delhi, 110010, India.
Number of interview sessions: 1
Method of transcription: Diary notes and later transcribed to typed words

Col Praveen Chabbara, the Defense Attache in Malayasia, organized the meeting with the IDSA. It was a quiet morning and it took me 1 hour and 30 minutes to reach IDSA with a rented car in New Delhi. Upon reaching, I met Dr. Jaganath Panda who was the person in charge for the meeting. After about 10 minutes, I walked towards a big discussion room where I met the informants (10). They were all excited and waiting to deliver their responses. It was a warm room with no air-conditioning. After a brief introduction, the interview began.

All informants were looking fresh and responded warmly. They were well prepared as all of them had received the questionnaire two weeks before the date of meeting. Their responses to my questions were excellent. All informants were a mix of military and civilian backgrounds, hence I manage to receive good knowledge and information on my interview questions. One was a serving officer who could not comment much due to restrictions but the others could converse and debate openly. At some point, heated debate was seen between informants, which was interesting for my interview outcome.

No abnormal interruption happened during the interview. It was a detailed and very comprehensive group discussion. I took an additional 10 minutes of time because all informants and I were also having very positive and in-depth discussions. Reflections were very vast on all areas listed in the interview questions. Coffee and tea was served to me. The interview ended with huge smile on all our faces and we departed with a friendly gesture.

Name of Informant/ Interviewee: Confidential
Designation: Former Financial Advisor & Current Distinguished Fellow
Age: Middle-aged
Field of Expertise: Defense Industry
Professional Experience: Retired Naval Officer

Years of Experience:	30 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Senior Fellow
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Military
Professional Experience:	Serving Military Officer
Years of Experience:	30 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Senior Research Fellow
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	Southeast Asia Region
Professional Experience:	Civilian
Years of Experience:	30 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes
Name of Informant/ Interviewee:	Confidential
Designation:	Research fellow
Age:	Middle-aged
Field of Expertise:	East Asia
Professional Experience:	Civilian
Years of Experience:	6 years
Anonymity Required:	Yes

Disclosure of Information

The informants had been provided with the King's College London information sheet and consent form disclosing the research topic, purpose, risks, benefits and confidentiality guidelines.

A. India's maritime security outlook (traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR).

1. What are the external drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

India is one country that no international polity can avoid including Malaysia. There is a strong requirement to reanalyse Malaysia's foreign policy with India. First of all, Malaysia's relationship with China is vital to be examined in order to understand Malaysia's level of engagement with India on the maritime domain. Malaysia's stand in the South China Sea vis-à-vis China e.g. the James Shoal case is one good example in understanding Malaysia's maritime behavior in the EIOR. It could be affecting its position on maritime issues in the EIOR, especially on traditional threats – a possibility of a hostile naval is something Malaysia cannot accept. The nature of the Malaysia-China

relationship will be one determining factor in understanding the Malaysia-India relationship.

In questioning the China factor, China is seen as an emerging power and a vital maritime power in the IOR, but it has not yet arrived to the expected level of power. The India-China relationship is still peaceful and will be so for the next decade, since for instance trade and global governance both entail good cooperation. Perhaps the relationship between China and Pakistan may cause a little irritation, but this is still manageable. It is important to examine India's engagement with China on three levels – regional, partnership and as a neighbor. China is not a threat to India's assets of any kind. China has other internal and external concerns, e.g. SCS. If China seeks militarization only then it may cause concern. A political context will give a clearer assessment on whether China is presently a concern for India.

2. What are the internal drivers influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR?

Various internal factors are influencing Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation, such as a cultural diaspora, bureaucratic framework of both countries, maritime policies, and the historical maritime relationships.

3. How is Malaysia going to rebalance her overall and maritime power vis-à-vis India and China in the EIOR in the context of the above factors?

B. India's commitment on Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR.

1. What is the level of commitment towards Malaysia-India maritime security cooperation in the EIOR through bilateral and/or regional mechanisms?

India's position in the IORA, Shangri la dialogue and Malaysia's stand and reaction are vital to examine for understanding Malaysia's acceptance of India at the multilateral level of cooperation. India has already shown great interest in the SEA region through its LEP policy. How Malaysia is reacting and engaging is where most of the answers lie. For example, the defense industry is one significant area of cooperation. However, no joint venture has been done so far, while great prospects lie in maintenance, repair, assets and ships. It all depends on Malaysia's acquisition policy. An interesting point was raised - does Malaysia have its own Indian Ocean policy, which is reflected on any white paper? How Malaysia views the IOR and the Asia Pacific will affect its overall view of India's role in the larger context of the Indo-Pacific region, and vice versa of India's engagement with Malaysia, given that Malaysia sits at the border of both the IOR and Asia Pacific.

It was argued that interaction should begin at a think tank level both consisting of TRACK 1 and TRACK 2. India's LEP has been almost one decade and the new policy is Act East Policy. It should not just involve engagement but also create conditions. A greater focus should be given to participation on security

levels. There is a great deal of understanding in what both countries sell to each other, e.g. BRAHMOS to Vietnam by the Indians.

In discussing India's involvement in the form of a multilateral institution, it was stated that India has a leading role in the IORA. At an economic level, it has two models, one on regional partnership and another on transnational partnership, like the trans-pacific partnership (TTP) and Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partnership (ASEP). Most ASEAN countries see India as a leading power, e.g. Singapore and Indonesia show great signs of India's positive in the region.

C. India's perspective on maritime security cooperation and its influence on mitigating traditional and non-traditional maritime security threats in the EIOR.

Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

In strengthening the relationship between Malaysia and India, it is vital to seek common interests between both nations, such as safety and security of SLOC's and safety of EEZs. One area of cooperation could be ensuring the safety navigation of the Straits of Malacca. Malaysia needs India as an emerging power in ensuring the safety of waters. On the other hand, India needs Malaysia, as India has no power in the SOM. A proactive engagement will lead to a stronger maritime relation in the SOM between Malaysia and India.

In discussing Indian maritime power and its ambitions in the IOR, India was seen as a stable and responsible power but one that does not show dominance. It has never shown or projected maritime conflict with any country. It shows good maritime governance capability and India will soon lead, as it is a responsible power. It has not been to the Atlantic. It has the capability to project maritime power in the IOR, but globally it has no need to go across the IOR. Its maritime capability is only to ensure the safety of its national territories. India has the capability to respond to other navies, as compared with its history, but it has no intention to project global power, only as a responsible power.

Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in the EIOR.

1. What are the non-traditional maritime security threats that may cause Malaysia and India to work together?

In discussing the area of cooperation, one major area of cooperation can be on the HADR. For instance, both countries can work on the common origin of equipment. Also drugs, arms and human trafficking can be some themes under the non-traditional aspect, which can be major concerns for both Malaysia and India. In today's times, disasters have become so common and there is lack of collaboration among countries on disaster management. Malaysia, India and other neighboring countries should explore this further and develop strategies on this to join hands together.